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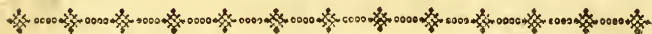


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John M. Lacey



A
V I E W
O F
NORTH AMERICA,
WITH THE
HISTORY OF THE WAR.



Entered in Stationers' Hall.

[Waller, George?]

A
V I E W
O F
N O R T H A M E R I C A,

In its former Happy, and its present Belligerent STATE.

B E I N G

A COMPENDIOUS DESCRIPTION of the
several CULTIVATED COLONIES,
previous to these Disturbances.

A L S O

The RISE, PROGRESS, and EFFECTS of the WAR
with GREAT-BRITAIN; the Proceedings of
CONGRESS, and the Dispositions of the PEOPLE
on that Occasion.

W I T H

The TRAVELS and ADVENTURES of the AUTHOR,
through great Part of that CONTINENT, in the
Years 1774, 75, 76, 77, and 78.

C O N T A I N I N G

A CONCISE ACCOUNT of the INDIANS; the Natural PRODUCE
of the COUNTRY, in its ORIGINAL STATE; the Manner of
PROCURING and SETTling of Land; with the Various
EXPEDITIOUS METHODS of CLEARING and IMPROVING
PLANTATIONS.

WITH WHICH IS CONNECTED,

THE HISTORY OF THE WAR WITH GREAT-BRITAIN.

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit. HOR.

G L A S G O W:

Printed by WILLIAM SMITH, for the AUTHOR;
Sold by W. SMITH, Glasgow; C. ELLIOT, and W. CREECH,
Edinburgh; T. CADDEL, and J. BUCKLAND, London.

M D C C L X X X I.

T H E
P R E F A C E.

THE Subsequent CONCISE Description of North America ; the History of the War subsisting there ; with my own TRAVELS through great part of that Continent, being drawn up from my Sentimental and Observatory JOURNAL ; and having been read in Manuscript by some of the greatest Luminaries in Modern Literature, is now respectfully submitted to the candid perusal of the ingenuous World.

THE favourable opportunities which presented themselves to me, of being thoroughly acquainted with the various Subjects herein delineated, induced me to imagine, that the observations of one, who has been present in most of the principal scenes of action, would be in some degree satisfactory.

FOR, having gone over to the new World, before the commencement of hostilities; and by an extraordinary disposition of occurrences, as will appear in the sequel, have been perfectly versant in the country, in its several degrees of cultivation and maturity: besides, in the progress of my peregrinations, having had occasion, for a considerable time, to be an inhabitant of the new Settlements, on the banks of the great OHIO; and there to explore those vast and extensive regions, yet uninhabited, and in their original state, as well as to be sometime among the Indian nations, or natives of that country.

AND when, in the course of subsequent events, that once happy CONTINENT came to be involved in all the horrors and calamities of an internal war, I had not only an opportunity of observing the graduated dissemination of enthusiasm and rancour, but was personally present in some of the principal battles which have happened in the progress of this unhappy contest.

BUT, in order to elucidate the THEME, it will here be necessary to observe, that the various incidents herein exhibited, are severally introduced, according to the time in which they respectively occurred; and are concisely discussed, with such a degree of perspicuity, impartiality, and candour, as every unbiaſſed peruser ſhall ſee proper to admit.

IN prosecution of which system, the uncommonly elegant city of PHILADELPHIA is minutely deſcribed; and the various internal regulations, and way of living of the inhabitants in the ſeveral cultivated Colonies, previous to theſe diſturbances, or in their former happy ſtate, are treated as worthy of particular attention.

THE Account of the beginnings and progreſs of the war, with the various opinions of all ranks of people in the Colonies on that occaſion, having been immediately taken from reality, is allowed, by the greateſt exiſtent judge of literary compoſi-

tion, to be “ *concise and clear ; and such as bring
“ to mind all the principal incidents.*”

HAVING treated the several transactions of the war, as an intire neutral person, without considering myself in that capacity, a subject of either of the belligerent powers, I have consequently avoided the long winded paragraphs of private opinion ; and, in their proper places, have inserted some very interesting ORIGINAL PAPERS, which not only become part of the subject, but are more expressive of the general spirit and ultimate design of the Colonists, than volumes that might have been wrote upon the subject.

THE Colonies of NORTH AMERICA, having now rendered themselves conspicuous all over Europe, it is to be presumed, that the spirit of emigration, which so much prevailed at the commencement of the war, will immediately, on the establishment of peace, break out with renovated vigour : and that myriads, who are now wrestling with grim PENURY, will then seek an assy-

lium, and permanent inheritance, in that fertile and extensive country.

BUT being experimentally sensible of the many inconveniencies, attending that of being *a stranger in a strange land*; I have, in order to remove some of these difficulties, made such an exhibition of the reception to be met with in that country, the manner of travelling into the NEW SETTLEMENTS, the way of knowing the quality of the land, and of the various ways and means of procuring, settling, and cultivating plantations, as my thorough knowlege of these very important, but hitherto neglected subjects, necessarily required.

ALTHOUGH in the course of these MEMOIRS, a punctual adherence to veracity and candour, may have exhibited different descriptions of persons, in rather an unfavourable view; yet it is by no means to be taken in the general, but respectively applied to those who may have acted unworthy of being connected with such dignified or venerable departments in human life.

THE various employments in which I am necessarily engaged, and the brevity of the time in which this has been projected and finished, have obliged me to sacrifice sublimity to perspicuity, and to narrate almost extempore.—However, from indisputable authority, I am induced to believe, it will be found to be *abundantly perspicuous*.

BEING now upon the great stage of the world, in a literary character, alternately exposed to the hissings or plaudits of variegated opinion, I have ventured, in this my first performance, to come forward in an anonymous manner, while I premise, that any nominal sanction from me would be very immaterial; being as yet but little known in this country, except on the banks of the Forth: and the tenour of the whole being a series of facts, which are not only evident of themselves, but will compensate for any inadvertency in composition or expression.

E R R A T A.

Page 18. l. 13. for crop'd, r. *crossed*. p. 51. l. 26. f. PEYLON, r. *Peyton*. p. 98. l. 29. f. unimmitting, r. *uninviting*. p. 101. l. 7. f. rigour, r. *vigour*.

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NORTH AMERICA, &c.

C H A P. I.

I embark for, and arrive at Philadelphia.—A description of the situation, plan, houses, streets, public buildings, civil regulations, commerce and manufactures of that city;—with the genius, manners, laws, learning, and religion, of the inhabitants.—A description of the soil, produce, spontaneous productions, fruits, and vegetables; tame and wild animals; reptiles and insects; seasons, air, and weather; with the houses and policies, peculiar to the country.—The genius, manners, customs, and way of living of the country people;—their manner of working their plantations, and the various encouragement to industry.—A concise account of the several provinces, and of the country in general, in its then happy state.

HAVING finished my education, and made every other necessary preparation for my intended peregrinations, I embarked at Greenock, in

the beginning of the year 1774, for PHILADELPHIA, in *North America*; and, after a passage of near ten weeks, in which we had some very severe storms, I arrived at that very agreeable and elegant metropolis.—If my prepossession was great in favours of this city, before I had seen it, I was no less surprized to find my expectations so far surpassed, by the real grandeur and regularity of that very populous and flourishing emporium of commerce.

It is situated between two navigable rivers, the DELAWARE and the SCHUYLKILL, a few miles above the point where the rivers unite, and about one hundred miles from the ocean.—The plan of the city extends the whole breadth between the two rivers (which is two miles) by a number of streets, parallel to each other; the midmost of which, or high-street, is 100 feet wide, and the rest 30.—These are again crop'd at right angles, by an equal number of streets of the same breadth; and forming exact squares, containing several acres of land each.—It is at present built the whole breadth of the plan, extending along the Delaware near two miles, and reaching only about half way towards the Schuylkill; the rest being nothing more as yet, than a beautiful common, interspersed with a few gentlemen's seats, built upon the plan.

The ground, upon which the city stands, has a gradual, but very gentle ascent from the river; which greatly adds, not only to the beauty, but salubrity of the town.—The houses are close built, in straight lines along the sides of the squares, mostly three or four stories high, of very handsome made bricks; one half of which being leaded black,

and built in form of a checker-board, display a most elegant appearance; particularly, by the reflection of the sun, most of the door-posts and lintels being of marble, which is pretty plenty all over the country. Each house has a lot of ground contiguous to itself, within the square, for courts, gardens, and other conveniences. — The streets are quite straight, and well laid, having a broad pavement on each side, properly defended from carriages, and is clean washed every morning.

The most remarkable public buildings are, the STATE-HOUSE, where the supreme court of the Province is held; the HOSPITAL, and the NEW-GOAL, entirely built of beautiful free stone: all magnificent beyond any thing that may be expected in such a new country. — There is also the ALMS-HOUSE, the WORK-HOUSE, and the BARRACKS, very elegant structures. But the grand public building, which particularly commands the wonder and admiration of every stranger is, the MARKET-HOUSE, which runs all along the middle of great part of Broad-street, upon a double row of elegant columns, covered by a handsome ceiled roof; and, on market-days, stored with such plenty of meat, poultry, and vegetables, with every other necessary of life, as is almost incredible to those who have never visited that fertile country. — The numerous houses for public worship, also compose a very respectable part of the public buildings; their lofty steeples, containing a set of great bells, equalled by few in Europe.

In each street are two rows of handsome lamps, which, when lighted, display an elegant appear-

ance; on account of the straightness of the streets, and levelness of the ground.—There is also a strong and regular watch kept during the night, which call every half hour after eleven o'clock, and preserve peace, and good order, in that great and populous city.

Having been some time in Philadelphia, and acquainted with a number of the principal merchants, I consequently had an opportunity of learning the various movements of the great machinery of commerce, which enriched the active and industrious part of the inhabitants of that city.—It's HARBOUR extends the whole length of the town, along the Delaware, (which is here about a mile broad) by a chain of spacious quays, and commodious wharfs, to which vessels of very large burthen may lay their broadsides, and discharge their cargoes into the merchants stores and ware-rooms, by the assistance of *cranes*, there erected for that purpose.

Notwithstanding the navigation-act, they had, in a great measure, a free trade with almost all nations of the world, whither they exported vast quantities of provisions and lumber; and received, in return, the various necessaries and luxuries of life, peculiar to those countries.—From *Europe* they were supplied with the various articles of cloathing, and salt; with hard-ware, and some other artificial productions.—From the *Atlantic Islands*, they had plenty of excellent wine; and from the *West-Indies*, they imported vast quantities of rum, sugar, molasses, and coffee; with several other periodical productions, peculiar to those fertile Islands.—With these, and other imported goods, they supplied the

flourishing Towns of NEWCASTLE, WILMINGTON, CHESTER, BURLINGTON, and TRENTON, upon the Delaware; with the populous inland Towns of LANCASTER, CARLISLE, YORK-TOWN, OXFORD, and READING.

From these, and the numerous country-stores, they received in return, the various produce of the country, which they sent to the West-Indies, and several nations in Europe, as payment of their imports.—They also employed a number of vessels, in the Logwood trade, from the Bay of Honduras; and dealt to a considerable extent with the other provinces of America, besides employing a number of boats in the Newfoundland fisheries.

There were even found among those sons of *freedom and liberty*, persons, whose insatiable avarice led them into that inhumane and barbarous branch of commerce, of carrying slaves from the coast of Guinea to the *West-Indies* and *Virginia*, where those poor creatures (equally entitled to liberty, and the rights of mankind with their captors) were sold to the highest bidder, and used by their masters in the most cruel and barbarous manner.—Another description of *soul-drivers*, or dealers in men, were those, who brought over ship loads of Irish indented servants, which they sold in the country, to an amazing advance upon what they had cost them.—There were also itinerant adventurers, who drove out numbers of horses, loaded with rum, trinkets, and coarse European manufactures, to the Indian nations, where they bartered them for skins and furs, with those credulous and ignorant people, to an inconceivable advantage.

Ship-building was carried on there in the greatest nicety and perfection, and constituted a considerable part of their commerce.—These they generally sent out loaded with the produce of the country, and sold the vessel as well as the cargo.—There were in Philadelphia some very extensive rum distilleries, a porter brewery, and a sugar-house.

Their dwelling-houses were done off in the most elegant and convenient manner; and almost every house may be said, to have a pump of fine fresh water at or near its door.—Money of all nations was current there: they had no specie of their own, but a paper currency struck by order of the Provincial Assemblies.

The inhabitants of Philadelphia, and the country in general, seemed to be eminently possessed of the agreeable and engaging qualities of their English ancestors.—Hospitality, and candour, were principal ingredients in the composition of their genius.—They were naturally active, lively, and affectionate, and spoke the English language in its greatest perfection and purity.—They were particularly possessed of an openness of manner, and polite freedom of behaviour, which is exceedingly agreeable to strangers, and is the natural effects of the laudable liberty they enjoyed, and the undistinguishable equality which reigned among all ranks of well-behaved people.—Good qualities, and a proper behaviour, were only necessary for procuring respect and esteem; and even places of public trust: in these, property was no way essential, unless attended with merit in the possessor.

The generous and charitable dispositions of the

Americans, induced them to think favourably of every person, whose appearance was agreeable, and to suppose them entitled to all the respect and privileges of proper members of Society, till such time as they were fully convinced of the contrary; and when that happened to be the case, no success in the world, or any pecuniary consideration, could prevent persons of an irregular or incontinent behaviour, from falling under the general odium and contempt, of all sensible and creditable people.

Pride, arrogance, and haughty indigence, had been frequently transported thither; but finding themselves abhorred, and contemned, by that sociable and courteous people, they had either taken refuge among the negroe-drivers, and petty store-keepers in Old Virginia, or languished away in solitude, and inactive obscurity.

Their public diversions displayed the greatest politeness and harmony, while every person seemed more attentive to the rules of good breeding, and dues of society, than another.—But as it is an allowed fact, that noxious weeds will sprout up, even in the most salubrious clime, and cultivated soil; so, there were even found in America, as well as in other places, persons possessed of a preposterous, inconsistency of thought, who affected to supply the deficiency of their real consequence in life, by a pretended importance, which soon became obvious, and rendered them not only despicable, but exceedingly ridiculous.

No country whatever, could boast of a more equitable system of laws, than existed in most of the British colonies in America.—They were not

only mild and salutary, but in every respect, fully adapted to the security of civil and religious liberty.—Their political system consisted of the governor and council; a provincial assembly elected by the people; with justices of the peace, and inferior magistrates, much of the same nature with those in England.—All trifling differences, were generally referred to wise and prudent arbitrators; which prevented the many unnecessary law-suits, that might otherwise have ensued.

Among various other salutary regulations, it was enacted, That all bankrupts, or insolvent debtors, should be sold, or indented, to serve in whatever employment they were capable of, for such a time as would fully indemnify their masters, for advancing the sum due to their creditors.—And by the general industrious disposition of the people, and their legislators, it was also provided, That all orphans, or poor children, should be bound out in proper families till they were of age, where they were maintained, clothed, and educated, and were learned such trades or employments, as their genius and disposition seemed most naturally inclined to.

Although, by the legislation of that country, theft was only punishable by fining; yet, by the general industry, and easy circumstances of the people, it was seldom known to be put in practice.—It was further provided, That if any unmarried person, should debauch or impregnate any young woman of character, he should either be obliged to marry her, or pay such a fortune, as it could be made evident, her parents were able to give her, or she might otherwise be possessed of.

Taxes were almost strangers in that country: one of a very singular nature, I remember of, although at that time too young to feel its effects, which was an annual impost, upon young men of every description, from the age of twenty-one till they were married.—This had been previously intended, to encourage population, but was anticipated by the natural sociality of the people.

Learning had arrived to a tolerable degree of proficiency, in that country.—They had several very flourishing UNIVERSITIES, and other seminaries of learning; and few places could produce men of brighter geniuses, or more correct and animated writers than America.

Although, in most of the provinces, there was no established religion; yet no country whatever, possessed more of the peace, harmony, and charity, peculiar to the reality of that very amiable, and necessary quality.

In Philadelphia were three very elegant churches, where the English service was regularly performed; five or six Presbyterian meeting-houses; a Jewish synagogue; a magnificent Popish chapel; a great many Quaker meeting-houses, and places of worship, for religious professions, of every denomination.—But no sect having any legal superiority, they were consequently upon a par, and were emulous to outshine one another, in piety, virtue, and benevolence; and supported their respective clergy with the greatest tranquillity.

As I had frequent opportunities of exploring the country, I made several tours through the Jerseys,

as well as through the interior parts of Pennsylvania and Maryland, which I found, to my great amazement, abounded with every thing necessary or desirable in life, to such a degree, as is almost beyond the power of description.

The Colonies of North America are, for the most part, exceedingly level, for more than one hundred miles back from the ocean; having only gradual ascents, sufficient to convey the numberless fresh water springs, into the several fine large navigable rivers, most of which rise in the Apalachian or Alliginay mountains.

The country is originally covered with excellent wood, of a most enormous size and altitude; the different species of which, with the manner of settling and clearing of land, I shall afterwards have occasion to describe, when I come to the new settlements and frontier country.—It is now tolerably clear, and well fenced, for about two hundred miles back from the ocean; and the soil being of a black dry mould, without being manured, produces excellent wheat, rye, barley, Indian corn, beans and peas, with a few oats, which they sow for their horses; although they do not thrive in that warm climate.—There is also, in the greatest perfection and plenty, every species of roots, flowers, and vegetables, to be found in any garden or hot-bed in Europe.

The woods are well stored with wild-grapes, straw-berries, plumbs, and mulberries, with other spontaneous fruits and berries.—Fruits of all kinds seem natural to this country; apples, pears, cherries, and peaches, grow in incredible plenty. The

trees require no grafting; and the fruit is much more delicious and rich, than that in Great Britain.

Almost every farmer has ten acres, or so, of an orchard, for the use of his family; the fruit of which, is free to every one who pleases.—The public roads are generally lined with apple, peach, and cherry-trees, which not only afford an agreeable shade, but a cooling repast to the weary traveller.—Hemp and flax were considerable articles in their produce; the seed of the latter they carefully preserved, and exported to Europe.—Hops seem to be natives of this country; and all kind of garden stuffs come to great perfection.

Almost every species of European animals have been transported thither; which generally degenerate in size and ferocity, but acquire a greater degree of mettle and sagacity. Those most in use, are horses, cows, sheep, and hogs; the latter of which, they have in amazing numbers.—Poultry are also surprizingly plenty; such as turkeys, geese, hens, and ducks.

Wild beasts and reptiles are mostly banished from the old settlements; but these I shall afterwards have occasion to describe, when I come to the new settlements, and Indian country. However, there still remain several sorts of quadrupeds, fowls, and insects: the most remarkable of which, is the *polecats*, whose urine is of such a nauseous and abominable nature, that when he throws it upon a traveller, (which he can do with great dexterity,) the approach of the unlucky person is disagreeably proclaimed, even at a great distance; and his presence

carefully avoided by all, till such time as he rids himself of the unfavoury perfume; which can be effected no other way, than either totally ejecting the cloaths besprinkled, or burying them for a considerable time under ground.

There are yet variety of squirrels, of different sorts; which are little cleanly animals, with long bushy tails, and can leap, with surprizing agility, from one tree to another. They live mostly upon walnuts, chesnuts, and hickery nuts; but often lose their lives, for making too free with the planters corn.

Wild geese and ducks are indifferently scarce in the old settlements; but pigeons are exceedingly plenty in the fall of the year.—The birds in this country are amazingly beautiful; but not such delightful songsters as those in Great-Britain. The nightingales and humming-birds make very agreeable music, with the numberless swarms of bees, which lodge in the trunks of hollow trees; and are frequently robbed of large quantities of honey by the country people.—In the summer evenings, the owls, bull-frogs, tree-frogs, and other reptiles and nocturnal beasts, make a most confused and hideous noise.

The seasons in this country are regular and settled; the sky almost perpetually clear; and the air not only exceedingly pure, but very salubrious.—The spring begins about the first of April, which is an agreeable month. About the beginning of May the trees put out, and almost every species of vegetables begin to make their appearance. The

months of June, July, and August, are almost intolerably hot; and generally attended with awful and terrifying fulminations. In September, the weather begins to be tolerably mild; which, with October and November, are by far the most pleasant months in the year.—The winter begins about the middle of December, and continues most intensely cold till the beginning of March, which often ends with large quantities of fleet and rain.

Their houses in the country are generally two stories high; laid out in the most elegant, tasty, and convenient manner. The first house upon a plantation is always of wood: when they find it convenient, they build a new one of stone or bricks, of which, there is a number of very handsome buildings in the old settlements.—Their barns, stables, and other office-houses, are also laid out exceedingly convenient. All the clear land is well fenced, and the fields laid off exactly square, mostly in ten acres.—The cattle run at large in the woods, and come home regularly for milking, and other purposes.

The people in the country possess an accumen and vivacity incident to the climate; and are naturally free, open, and polite in their manner, as well as hospitable and generous in their dispositions. The greatest sociality, harmony, and unity, prevail among all ranks of free, well-behaved white people.—The richest planter in Pennsylvania, has never more than one table; at which he, and all white servants, promiscuously sit down.

Their dress is entirely adapted for utility and ease; and varies according to the season of the

year. Their fuel is excellent wood, properly cut up for the purpose; of which they make very large fires in winter, but generally have none in their houses in summer. Their tables are always genteelly covered, and plentifully supplied with every thing necessary in life; towards the affluence of which, their orchards greatly contribute, by affording them plenty of apples for every purpose, all the year round. Of part of the apples, they make large quantities of cyder; and of them and the peaches, they make excellent spirits: while large quantities are either ate up by the hogs, or left to rot on the ground. They have plenty of butter and cheese through the whole course of the year, by preserving their milk in summer, in earthen vessels, immersed in cool spring-houses made for the purpose.

All manner of farming work is done there, with the greatest nicety and dispatch. They have arrived at the greatest proficiency in plowing, reaping, and cutting of wood. Their harvest begins in July, and lasts but a very short time. As soon as a field of grain is ripe, the owner procures as many hands as will reap it in a day, allowing one hand to an acre. The ridges being only six furrows, each reaper takes one, and the best are put foremost, which causes them work with such emulation and spirit, that weak hands have been known to expire on the spot, rather than be outdone.

In the month of September they sow the wheat, and rye, and plough it with a little light plough, of a very nice construction, drawn by two horses, which are drove by the same person that holds.—

There is a sort of barley which is sown in the fall of the year, and an early sort which is sown in the spring.

No country whatever, could be more advantageous or agreeable, for industry in general, than this. Almost every description of mechanics, or tradesmen, were greatly wanted; and met with encouragement, even exceeding their most sanguine expectations. — Labourers or workmen, were in amazing demand, particularly, in the country; where they lived in such affluence, ease, liberty, and respect, as is altogether inconceivable to those practising similar employments in Europe.

Expert workmen in farming, never engaged by the time, but took work by the piece; such as, clearing a field, or making of fence rails; and always lived at their employer's house, while a-doing the job; where they sat at the table with, and dined in the same manner as the master of the family. But it was generally the case, that new incomers, or labourers unacquainted with the nature of the country, hired by the month, or the day, for some time at first. And those who were under the disagreeable necessity of going over indented or bound, for the trifling consideration of their passage, were obliged to work for some years, for nothing more than their cloathing, and alone bore the appellation of servants; although they also sat at the table with their masters: and, at the expiration of their time, received a suit of new cloaths, a new ax, and some other implements, when they commenced freemen, and undertook work for themselves, till such time as they found it convenient to go out to the new

settlements, and take up, or otherwise procure, a plantation of their own.

The preceeding description, may, with very little variation, be applied to all the middle colonies of North America, except Virginia, where the principal produce is tobacco; the raising of which, employed a vast number of slaves, which were ruled, or kept in subjection, by a set of persons, not altogether replete with humanity, and common sense.

The tobacco, when raised, was either sold, or bartered to store-keepers; a great many of whom were agents or clerks for merchants in Britain, and still retained an enormous quantity of the distinctions peculiar to their native country.

The church of England had been established in Virginia, with a free toleration to every profession; yet notwithstanding of which, the generality of the people lived in the most abandoned profligacy, and open wickedness.

The Carolinas, owing to their southern situation, have much warmer and longer summers than the middle provinces: their winter is so very mild, that the snow seldom withstands the heat of the meridian sun. Their principal produce is indigo and rice; although almost every species of grain is raised in tolerable perfection. Scarcely any place in America is more replete with spontaneous productions, of fruits and vegetables, of almost every kind, than this. Their horses, cattle, and hogs, frequently run wild in the woods; and it is very common for one planter to have two or three hundred of each kind.

The provinces of New-England differ very little

from the middle colonies in produce, and internal regulations; but, on account of their northern situation, have longer and colder winters; although their summer is almost as warm as in New-York, which is much the same with Pennsylvania and its neighbouring colonies, already described.

Poverty was almost a stranger in that happy country; and whoever happened to be unfortunately reduced, and were unable to work, were always bountifully provided for, by the county in which he lived.

Thus that happy people lived, rolling in ease, liberty, and affluence, with every other blessing of life. But as these are often productive of pride, with all its hideous train of discontent, self-importance, and ingratitude; so, to these may be ascribed part of the rise of these unhappy disturbances, which have not only torn the husband from his loving wife, the parent from the beloved children, the brother from the darling sister, and the friend from his endearing confidant; but has raised those State-convulsions, which have not only shaken the British empire from its lowest basis, but set all Europe in a political flame.—A proper investigation into, and discussion of the rise, progress, and effects of which, shall employ great part of the subsequent theme.

C H A P. II.

The causes, and political springs, of the war between Great-Britain and America.—The stamp-act imposed, but is obstinately refused by the Americans, and repealed.—New duties imposed in America, and custom-houses established in the principal sea-port towns, which produce great animosities.—New acts of parliament respecting America: the effects thereof among the people.—All the duties in America removed, except three-pence on the pound of tea.—Troops sent over to enforce the authority of the Excise-men.—The tragical effects thereof in the city of Boston.—Tea sent to Boston, and destroyed by the populous.—New acts of parliament intended for humbling the Colonists.—They are alarmed and enflamed by their ambitious leaders.—Their several resolutions and agreements.—They call a general Congress, which meet at Philadelphia.—Their first resolves.—They petition the king, and address the people of Great-Britain.—The general spirit of the Americans, on that occasion.—Provincial Congresses and Committees established through the several Colonies.

IN order to delineate the causes, and political springs, of the unhappy disputes between Great-Britain and her Colonies; it will be found necessary, to take a retrospect view of matters, since the imposition of the stamp-act, in the year 1764, which first aroused the jealousy and resentment of the Colonists.

The advocates for, and against, the propriety of this proceeding, have sent forth such forcible thunderbolts of argument, that it will be found difficult for impartial people, to determine on either side of the question.

The ministerial orators urged, "That considering the opulence and easy circumstances of the Americans, with the protection they received, and the immense blood and treasure they had cost the parent state, it was no more than reasonable, that they should bear a part of the burden which lay so heavy upon the mother country: and that, a direct taxation was in some measure necessary, in order to assert, and maintain, the prerogative of Great-Britain, over those vast and extensive dominions."

In answer to these, the friends of America, and those in the opposition, argued, "That the ancestors of the Americans had fled, from a cruel persecution, to those wild and barbarous deserts, where they had settled under the greatest difficulties; and, by indefatigable industry, had procured to themselves a comfortable and plentiful subsistence; but could by no means be said to be rich, as great part of their apparent opulence, belonged to merchants in Britain: and as for what expence the crown had been at, in that country, it had been more intended to protect and extend its own dominions, than for any good to them. And that, even in the late war, they had contributed more towards their own protection, than had been allowed to be sufficient by the parliament itself."

They further alledged, "That the Americans,

even then, contributed greatly towards the support of the crown, by being confined to the British market for goods which were already taxed: And that a direct imposition of taxes, in that country, was not only impolitic, but unconstitutional.—It was impolitic, so long as they had it in their power, by confining their trade, to tax them to any amount they pleased; and unconstitutional, to tax them as British subjects, without being represented in parliament: neither could it be expected that they would tamely submit to such a plain violation of the British constitution.”

Notwithstanding of the foregoing arguments, the act passed, and was sent over to America, to be put in execution; where it met with such a violent opposition, as rendered its enforcement absolutely impracticable, without having recourse to arms; which, at that time, was not thought prudent.

A change in the ministry having previously happened, in the year 1766, the Stamp-Act was repealed, to the universal joy of the Americans, and their friends at home.

This was no sooner done, than it was exclaimed against, as inconsistent with the spirit and dignity of the British nation: and that, yielding to the Americans in one point, was in effect the giving up of all.—The parliament, therefore, on the ensuing year, in order to secure the dependency of the colonies upon the mother country, passed an Act to bind the Americans in all cases: and, in a short time after, imposed a new duty upon tea, glass, paper, and painter's colours, to be sent to America;

and accordingly, established custom-houses at Boston, and other principal sea-port towns.

But as the Americans were determined at all events, to pay no taxes imposed by any other power than their own legislators; so, they obstinately opposed the execution of these new acts, and proceeded to such violent measures, as obliged the numerous excisemen, who had been sent over to collect the customs, to fly for refuge, on board the ships of war, and other places of safety.

The parliament, thus finding their authority despised and contemned in America, thought proper to revise a statute of king Henry VIII. by which, persons accused of treason, or other capital crimes in America, were to be brought over to Great-Britain to be tried.

The powerful and shining orators, in opposition, represented this, and the binding the Americans, in all cases, "as not only inconsistent with British liberty, and the laws of the realm, (which allow every person to be tried in their own country, by their peers;) but as bold advances towards an absolute dominion; and that something more was intended by such proceedings, than the welfare of the British empire. For it could not be supposed, that a poor man in America, could transport himself across the Atlantic, and bring with him all his exculpatory proof, in order to defend a plea, in a country, where his character and situation, could never be properly known, and the people were already prejudiced against him.

After much altercation, in the year 1770, the the parliament removed all the duties imposed in

America, except *three pence* a pound upon tea, which was determined to be enforced at all events, and appeared to have been reserved, more for maintaining the sovereignty of Great-Britain over the Colonies, than for any emolument to the Crown; as it was by no means sufficient, to satisfy the tax-gatherers, sent thither to collect it, whose authority was now obliged to be enforced by two regiments of troops stationed at Boston, where the people seemed most ungovernable and outrageous.

This assessment met with no better reception in America, than all the former. The people now began to entertain a general distrust and jealousy of the British nation; and looked upon the British soldiers, as miscreants, come over to rob them of their lawful rights and privileges: while, at the same time, the soldiers viewed the Americans as rebellious paltrons, who despised all law and authority, and must be ruled with a rod of iron.

Thus, reciprocal animosity and insult prevailed; which, at last, brought on that tragical scene, transacted by the inhabitants of Boston, and a part of the British troops, in the following manner.

Some difference happening, between a British soldier, and some young men in Boston; the soldier found it necessary, to fly to the main-guard for protection, which immediately turned out, and was, in a few minutes, surrounded by a numerous and outrageous mob, who proceeded to pelt them with sticks and stones in a most unmerciful manner.

Captain Preston, who that day was officer of the guard, ordered his men in a posture of defence, with fixed bayonets; and endeavoured to persuade

the populace of the impropriety of their behaviour, and the fatal consequences, which of necessity might ensue.

While he displayed his eloquence to no purpose, one of the soldiers having received a contusion by a stone from the mob, was enraged to such a degree, that he fired upon his adversary; which Capt. Preston no sooner observed, than he called to his men *not to fire*. But the enraged and exasperated troops, mistaking the word *fire* for a command, blazed away among the populace; which killed four promising young men and a malatto, besides wounding nine or ten more.

Such unexpected severity in proceeding, immediately damped the spirits of the assailants, who retired in the greatest rancour and chagrin, threatening vengeance on the British troops, by the assistance of the country militia.

A new tomb was made for the unfortunate young men, and the day of their funeral observed with the most melancholly solemnity. — All the shops in the city were ordered to be shut; the bells tolled the whole day; and the corpse of the four youths were attended to the place of interment, in solemn procession, by a greater concourse of people, than had ever been known to have assembled in that country.

The duty on tea having been reserved as the test of American loyalty, three ships were accordingly sent out by the East-India company, loaded with the devoted article, and arrived at Boston about the end of the year 1773, intending to land their cargoes in spite of all opposition.—But, in this,

however, they were disappointed: for a number of the most enterprizing inhabitants of Boston, dressing themselves as Indians, boldly boarded the vessels, and taking out their cargoes, of this *bitter and noxious weed*, (as they called it,) threw it into the sea, without offering any violence to the masters and crews of the vessels; while it is somewhat remarkable, that the garrison of Fort-William, and armed ships in the harbour, were quite inactive on this occasion.

Several ships with tea had arrived at other ports in America, but were mostly allowed to return back to England with their cargoes, except some which had been also thrown into the sea at Carolina; and although at New-York it was landed under the canon of the war ships, yet it was obliged to be stored up from any farther use.

The news of these outrages in America, no sooner reached the parliament of Great-Britain, than they proceeded to such measures as they imagined would effectually humble the pride of the Bostonians, and establish peace and tranquillity through the whole Continent.

Three bills were accordingly brought in, and passed during that session; one *for blocking up the port, or harbour of Boston*, till they should pay for the tea destroyed; another *for laying aside the charter of the Massachusetts Bay*, and investing the government of that Colony in the Crown, whereby criminals were to be brought to Great-Britain to be tried; and a third, *for the making more effectual provision for the province of Quebec, in North America*.

These new acts of parliament, were received in

the Colonies, with the greatest contempt and insolence; while, at the same time, they affected a sort of ironical mourning.—The ships in the harbours hung out their colours half-mast high; the bells rang muffled; and the acts themselves were printed on mourning paper, with a death's-head affixed to them, and cried about the streets, as *THE FOLLY OF ENGLAND, AND THE RUIN OF AMERICA*.

Both countries seemed now determined on a rupture; they had long enjoyed the inestimable blessings of peace, liberty, and affluence, and were neither contented with, nor thankful for such mercies.—Deism, profanity, and all manner of wickedness, seemed to call loud for vindictive judgments; while pride and ambition had bound them in chains of slavery, and were dragging them captive to their own destruction.

No national principle, could induce Great-Britain, so inconsiderately, to rush into variance with her flourishing Colonies; neither could the Colonists pretend to the smallest degree of propriety or reason, in so early exciting the arms of one of the most powerful empires in Europe. Their destroying the tea, was certainly a preposterous and unjustifiable proceeding. It's being stored up in Boston, could be no great infringement upon their liberties, so long as they were under no impulse to buy it, unless they pleased.

But they argued, “That had they permitted it to have been landed, it would, in spite of all opposition, have been interspersed through the country, and consequently have brought the duty imposed.” But, even admitting this to have been the

case, it was by no means a sufficient pretence for involving themselves in an unnatural and desolating war.—People, who were versant in the country, attributed the causes to other motives.

There were in America, numbers of men, of great talents, who had acquired large fortunes, and imagined themselves nothing inferior to the nobles of Europe, but in the *nominal titles*; which deficiency, their pride and ambition wished to supply, by secretly endeavouring to establish the great and flourishing Continent of North America, into a free and independent empire; in which, they expected to hold high places, either in the state or army.

They therefore, had circulated inflammatory letters all over the Continent, alarming the people of the danger that their civil and religious liberties were in; and asserting, “That Great-Britain was wreathing the chains of slavery about their necks, and intended to drag them into an unconditional submission; which, if they tamely submitted to, would involve them and their posterity in cruel and oppressive bondage.”

Thus these crafty and designing leaders, under the specious pretence of Patriotism, and asserting the liberty and welfare of their country, had spread a political conflagration all over the Continent; and so far prevailed upon the credulous and unsuspecting people, that county and town-meetings were every where held, and the Northern provinces at last entered into a *solemn league and covenant*, to purchase no British goods, nor allow them to come into the country, till their grievances were redressed.

Numerous resolutions were also agreed to, all over the country, for encouraging manufactures, and lopping off every superfluity in life; while various petitions and remonstrances were made to the several governors of the Colonies. But these were generally drawn in such insolent and arrogant language, as caused them to be rejected as *scandalous libels* against the British government, which broke up all regal authority through most of the provinces.

At last, after much altercation and bustle, it was determined upon, through the several Colonies, to call a general Congress, in order to deliberate upon their present grievances, and proceed to such measures as might be most effectual for the preservation of their civil and religious liberties.—Delegates were accordingly chosen, who met in the STATE-HOUSE of Philadelphia, on the 5th day of September 1774, under the title of *The Continental Congress*, which was composed of fifty-one of the principal inhabitants of the country; some of which were men of uncommon abilities and genius, as well as literary and oratorical talents, which they have evinced by their very concise and animated writings.

This audacious Assembly, immediately on their meeting, drew up a long *declaration of rights*, as they called it: in which they expressed the highest approbation of the conduct of the people of Boston; and assured them, that ALL AMERICA would assist them in the support and protection of the privileges of British subjects; and recommended to the rest of the Provinces, to contribute towards the

relief of those that should happen to be sufferers by the effects of the *Boston port-bill*.

They then drew up a series of *Resolves*, to be strictly observed by all the people of America: and as nothing can be said upon the subject, so short, or expressive of the general spirit and disposition of the country, as these resolutions, I shall here insert them in their own words, as they were published in the *Continental Gazette*, as follows.

“ We his Majesty’s most loyal subjects, the delegates of the several Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three Lower Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on the Delaware; Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, deputed to represent them in a Continental Congress, held in the city of Philadelphia on the 5th day of September 1774, avowing our allegiance to his Majesty, our affection and regard for our fellow-subjects in Great-Britain, and elsewhere, affected with the deepest anxiety, and most alarming apprehensions, at those grievances and distresses, with which his Majesty’s American subjects are oppressed; and having taken under our most serious deliberation, the state of the whole Continent, find, That the present unhappy situation of affairs, is occasioned by a ruinous system of Colony administration, adopted by the British ministry, about the year 1763, evidently calculated for enslaving these Colonies, and with them the British empire.

“ In prosecution of which system, various acts of parliament have been passed, for raising a reve-

nue in America; for depriving the American subjects, in many instances, of the constitutional trial by jury; exposing their lives to danger, by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the seas, for crimes alledged to have been committed in America: and, in prosecution of the same system, several late, cruel, and oppressive acts have passed, respecting the town of Boston, and the Massachusetts Bay; and also an act for extending the province of Quebec, so as to border on the Western frontiers of these Colonies, establishing an arbitrary government therein, and discouraging the settling of British subjects in that wide extended country: thus, by the influence of civil principles, and ancient prejudices, to dispose the inhabitants, to act with hostility against the free Protestant Colonies, whenever a wicked ministry shall choose so to direct them.

“ To obtain redress of these grievances, which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his Majesty’s subjects in North America, we are of opinion, that a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure: and therefore we do, for ourselves, and the inhabitants of the several Colonies, whom we represent, firmly agree and associate, under the sacred ties of virtue, honour, and the love of our country, as follows.

I. “ That from and after the first day of December next, we will not import into British America, from Great-Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares, or merchandize whatsoever, or from any other place, any such goods, wares, or merchan-

dise, as shall have been exported from Britain or Ireland; nor will we, after that day, import any East-India tea from any part of the world; nor any molasses, syrop, panels, coffee, or pimento, from the British plantations, or from Dominica; nor wines from Madeira, or the Western Islands; nor foreign indigo.

2. “ That we will neither import, nor purchase any slave imported, after the first day of December next: after which time, we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities, or manufactures, to those who are concerned in it.

3. “ As a non-consumption agreement, strictly adhered to, will be an effectual security for the observation of the non-importation, we do, as above, solemnly agree and associate, that from this day we will not purchase or use any tea, imported on account of the East-India company, or any on which a duty hath been, or shall be paid; and from and after the first day of March next, we will not purchase, or use any East-India tea whatever; nor will we, nor shall any person for or under us, purchase or use any of those goods, wares, or merchandise, —we have agreed not to import, which we shall know, or have cause to suspect were imported after the first day of December, except such as come under the rules and directions of the tenth article hereafter-mentioned.

4. “ The earnest desire we have, not to injure our fellow-subjects in Great-Britain or Ireland, or the West-Indies, induces us to suspend a non-ex-

portation until the tenth day of September, 1775 ; at which time, if the said acts, and parts of acts, of the British Parliament, herein aftermentioned, are not repealed, we will not, directly or indirectly, export any merchandise or commodity whatsoever to Great-Britain, Ireland, or the West-Indies, except rice to Europe.

5. “ Such as are merchants, and use the British and Irish trade, will give orders as soon as possible, to their factors, agents, and correspondents in Great-Britain and Ireland, not to ship any goods to them, on any pretence whatever, as they cannot be received in America : and if any merchant, residing in Great-Britain or Ireland, shall directly or indirectly, ship any goods, wares, or merchandise for America, in order to break the said non-importation agreement, or in any manner contravene the same ; on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made public ; and on the same being so done, we will not, from henceforth, have any commercial connection with such merchant.

6. “ That such as are owners of vessels, will give positive orders to their captains or masters, not to receive on board their vessels, any goods, prohibited by the said non-importation agreement, on pain of immediate dismissal from their service.

7. “ We will use our utmost endeavours to improve the breed of sheep, and increase their number to the greatest extent ; and, to that end, we will kill them as sparingly as may be, especially those of the most profitable kind ; nor will we ex-

port any to the West-Indies, or else where: and those of us who are, or may be overstocked with, or can conveniently spare any sheep, will dispose of them to our neighbours, especially to the poorer sort on moderate terms.

8. "That we will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, œconomy, and industry; and promote agriculture, arts, and the manufactures of this country, especially that of wool. And will discontinue, and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation; especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, or exhibition of shows, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments. And, on the death of any relation, or friend, none of us, or any of our families, will go into any further mourning dress, than a black crape, or ribbon on the arm or hat for gentlemen; and a black ribbon or necklace for ladies. And we will discontinue the giving of gloves or scarfs at funerals.

9. "That such as are venders of goods or merchandise, will not take any advantage of the scarcity of goods, that may be occasioned by this association; but will sell the same at the rates we have been respectively accustomed to do, for twelve months last past. And if any vender of goods or merchandise, shall sell any such goods on higher terms, or shall in any manner, or by any device whatsoever, violate or depart from this agreement, no person ought, nor will any of us deal with any such person, or his, or her factor or agent, at any time thereafter, for any commodity whatever.

10. "In case any merchant or trader, or other

person, shall import any goods or merchandise, after the first day of December, and before the first day of February next, the same ought forthwith, at the election of the owner, to be either re-shipped, or delivered up to the committee of the county, or town, wherein they shall be imported, to be stored, at the risk of the importer, until the non-importation agreement shall cease; or be sold under the direction of the committee aforesaid: and, in the last-mentioned case, the owner, or owners of such goods, shall be reimbursed, out of the sales, the first cost and charges; the profits, if any, to be applied towards the relieving and employing such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston, as are immediate sufferers by the Boston Port-Bill. And a particular account of all such goods, so returned, stored, or sold, to be inserted in the public papers: and if any goods or merchandise shall be imported, after the said first day of February, the same ought forthwith to be sent back again, without breaking up any of the packages thereof.

II. " That a committee be chosen in every county, city, and town, by those who are qualified to vote for representatives in the legislature, whose business it shall be, attentively to observe the conduct of all persons, touching the association. And when it shall be made to appear, to the satisfaction of a majority of any such committee, that any person within the limits of their appointment, has violated this association, that such majority do forthwith cause the truth of the case to be publish-

ed in the Gazette, to the end, that all such foes to the rights of British America, may be publicly known, and universally contemned, as the enemies of American liberty; and thenceforth we respectively will break off all dealings with him or her.

12. " That the committee of correspondence, in the respective Colonies, do frequently inspect the entries of their custom-houses, and inform each other, from time to time, of the true state thereof, and of every other material circumstance that may occur, relative to this association.

13. " That all manufactures of this country be sold at reasonable prices, so that no undue advantage be taken of a future scarcity of goods.

14. " And we do further agree and resolve, that we will have no trade, commerce, dealings, or intercourse whatsoever, with any Colony or Province of North America, which shall not accede to, or which shall hereafter violate this association; but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country. And we do solemnly bind ourselves and our constituents, under the ties aforesaid, to adhere to this association, until such parts of the several acts of Parliament passed since the close of the last war, as impose or continue duties on tea, wine, molasses, syrop, paneles, coffee, sugar, pymento, indigo, foreign paper, glass, and painters colours, imported into America, and extend the powers of the admiralty courts, beyond their ancient limits; deprive the American subject of trial by jury; authorize the judges certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he

might otherwise be liable to, from a trial of his peers; require oppressive security from a claimant of ships or goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, are repealed: and until that part of the act of the 12th of George III. Ch. 24. intituled, *An Act for the better securing His Majesty's Dock-Yards, Magazines, Ships, Ammunition, and Stores*; by which any persons charged with committing any of the offences therein described in America, may be tried in any shire or county within the realm, is repealed: and until the four acts passed in the last Session of Parliament, viz. That for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston; that for altering the charter and government of the Massachusetts-Bay; and that which is intituled, *An Act for the better administration of Justice, &c.*; and that for extending the limits of Quebec, &c. are repealed. And we recommend it to the provincial conventions, and to the committees in the respective Colonies, to establish such further regulations as they may think proper to carry into execution, concerning this association." In Congress, Philadelphia, October 20th, 1774.

Signed by

PEYLON RANDOLPH, President.

For New Hampshire,	{	John Sullivan,
		Nathaniel Folsom.
	{	Thomas Cushing,
For Massachusetts-Bay,		Samuel Adams,
		John Adams,
		Robert Treatpaine,

For Rhode-Island,	{	<i>Stephen Hopkins,</i> <i>Samuel Ward.</i>
For Connecticut,	{	<i>Eliphalet Dyer,</i> <i>Rodger Sherman,</i> <i>Silas Deane.</i>
For New-York,	{	<i>Isaac Low,</i> <i>John Alsop,</i> <i>John Jay,</i> <i>James Dawne,</i> <i>William Floyd,</i> <i>Henry Weisner,</i> <i>S. Becrum.</i>
For New-Jersey,	{	<i>James Kinsey,</i> <i>William Livingstone,</i> <i>Stephen Crane,</i> <i>Richard Smith.</i>
For Pennsylvania,	{	<i>Joseph Galloway,</i> <i>John Dickenson,</i> <i>Charles Humphreys,</i> <i>Thomas Mifflin,</i> <i>Edward Biddle,</i> <i>John Morton,</i> <i>George Ross.</i>
For New-Castle, &c.	{	<i>Cæsar Rodney,</i> <i>Thomas M'Kean,</i> <i>George Read.</i>
For Maryland,	{	<i>Matthew Tilchman,</i> <i>Thomas Johnston,</i> <i>William Paca,</i> <i>Samuel Chase.</i>

For Virginia,	{ <i>Richard Henry Lee,</i> <i>George Washington,</i> <i>P. Henry, junior,</i> <i>Richard Bland,</i> <i>Benjamin Harrison,</i> <i>Edmond Pendleton,</i>
For North Carolina,	{ <i>William Hooper,</i> <i>Joseph Hewes,</i> <i>R. Caswell.</i>
For South Carolina,	{ <i>Henry Middleton,</i> <i>Thomas Lynch,</i> <i>Christopher Gadsden,</i> <i>John Rutledge,</i> <i>Edward Rutledge.</i>

Besides the preceding resolves, the Congress drew up a long petition to the King and Parliament of Great-Britain; an address to the province of Canada; and another to the people of Great-Britain and Ireland. In all which, they peremptorily asserted, “their indisputable right to assemble for the deliberation of their present grievances;” and observed, “that their ancestors, by emigrating to America, had by no means forfeit their right to the privileges of British subjects; and that, as proprietors of the soil of America, no power on earth had a right to deprive them of their liberty and property, without their consent.”—They further enumerated a long detail of the several oppressive acts, as they called them, which had been passed for several years by the Parliament of Britain, respecting the Colonies.

These papers were drawn with a degree of insolence and contempt of sovereign authority, peculiar to the spirit of the country; and, upon the whole, contained much more *American fire* in their constitutions, than was either consistent or necessary; and fully evinced, the ambition and duplicity of Congress, which rendered their petition, not only detestable in Parliament, but abortive in its effects.

One piece of very necessary policy was said to have been the first resolve of Congress, which was, “That, whatever should afterwards be determined upon by a majority, should come out as UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED; by which the public were become entirely unacquainted with the internal operations of that assembly, and were made to believe, that they proceeded with the greatest unanimity and harmony; neither was it possible to procure admittance into the State-house, during the sitting of Congress.

It is also to be observed, that each province had only one vote, without any respect to the number of delegates they sent to Congress; which having passed a number of Resolves, respecting the temporary regulation of their government, ordered that a new Congress be held on the tenth day of May following, if their grievances were not redressed before that time.

The political infection had by this time taken hold of all ranks of people; while every company now rung with BRITISH TYRANNY, the RIGHTS of AMERICA, and the possibility of their living INDEPENDENT of Great-Britain.

The resolves of Congress had therefore become the creed of all the Colonies; and were observed with a religious punctuality by all, except those who were attached to Great-Britain, by the ties of consanguinity or interest, and a number of people, whose moderation of sentiment, induced them to wish for the continuation of peace, and an union with the mother-country: but these bore such a small proportion to the majority, that their *still small voice* was scarcely perceivable.

A provincial Congress had been appointed in each of the respective Colonies, in order to deliberate upon their particular affairs; and committees of correspondence and safety, were chosen in every town and county, to transmit to one another, such intelligence as they should find necessary, with committees of inspection, appointed to superintend the observance of the mandates of Congress.

The article of East-India tea, had been all along considered as the bane of their impending miseries; and accordingly exclaimed against, as unworthy to be drunk by the *brave and free-born* PEOPLE of *America*.

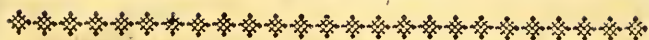
The drinking of this *enslaving herb* had therefore become a heinous crime, and allowed to be a sure indication of disaffection to the liberties of America; while such unhappy persons were viewed with a degree of rancour and malice, peculiar to partizans in the zenith of enthusiasm and phrenzy.

The Committee-men were accordingly authorized to search every house, about the time of the drinking of this *poisonous and detestable weed*, as they called it: and whoever was found so trespassing,

were published in the Gazette, as enemies to their country, and inimical to the rights of America.

This was, in effect, quietly hinting, to the frantic and lawless rabble, to destroy the houses of such unlucky persons, or proceed to the cruel barbarity of rolling them naked in tar and feathers, and carrying them through the city, in this pitiful condition, as public spectacles of contempt and hatred.

But in spite of all their vigilance, there were numbers of persons, who could not so easily refrain from this long-accustomed and favourite herb; and used it with such secrecy, that I have often drunk tea with my landlady and her daughters, in a small garret closet, lest we should be found by the insolent and overbearing members of the Committees,



C H A P. III.

The opinion of the ministry and parliament of Great-Britain, respecting the Colonists.—The progress of the patriots.—The proceedings of the clergy.—I proceed up the country.—The sentiments of the people concerning a war.—General Gage's proclamation.—The Americans take Fort-William and Mary, and seize all the King's stores.—The Assembly of New-York petition the King; but to no purpose.—The skirmishes at Lexington and Concord.—Boston is shut up by the Americans.—The Patriots take the Forts of Ticonderago and Crownpoint.—Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrive at Boston with troops.—The battle of Bunker's-hill.—The Congress establish an army, and other military regulations.—Georgia accedes to the Continental Confederacy.—The Congress again petition the King, address the people of Great-Britain, and publish a Declaration to the several Colonies, setting forth the causes of their going to war.

THE British parliament, on hearing of these daring and audacious proceedings in America, were greatly aroused and nettled. Their dignity and self-importance, disdained to have their authority thus rejected and trampled upon, by those whom they had all along considered as cowardly, insignificant paltrons, who would shrink into

passive obedience, at the sight of a *red-coat*, and *the shaking of a spear*.

Several acts of parliament were immediately passed, restraining the trade of the Colonies, excluding them from the Newfoundland fisheries, and prohibiting the exportation of arms and ammunition to America; all intended as an overbalance to the non-importation agreement of Congress, while an army was prepared to be sent out, consisting of only a few regiments, which were then allowed to be more than sufficient, to subjugate those discontented and rebellious subjects; and fully proved ministerial ignorance of the then unanimity, and serious intentions of the Colonists.

The Congress having now got tolerably seated in the chair of American government, with fast hold of the reins of the caprice of the people; and understanding that their pretended supplications were totally rejected at the throne of Great-Britain, and that an army was coming out to chastise their insolence: They therefore laid aside their pretensions to loyalty and lenity, and strongly recommended to the people, the learning of the military art, with every other preparation for a necessary defence.

The militia were accordingly embodied; and every male, from the age of sixteen to fifty years, was ordered to turn out to muster, and perfect themselves in the military exercise; which, however, was a very trying circumstance to the friends of government, as they found great difficulty in forming an excuse from this unnatural and auda-

cious proceeding; and many, for their stability, were treat with the utmost severity and rigour.

The public ferment thus proceeded from bad to worse, till every hostile preparation was carried on with the greatest alacrity and spirit.—Large premiums were granted for the making of gun-powder and fire-arms: and the militia turned out, with such enthusiastic emulation, that the fields resounded with martial music, and the clanking of arms; and every thing else seemed ripe for the impending desolation.

During the infancy of this political fever, the American clergy had been variously employed, according as their interest and temporal welfare seemed to incline.

Those of the church of England, as they held their livings by the appointment of the crown of Great-Britain, strongly insinuated the dangerous tendency of opposing the civil authority; while in their sermons they significantly alledged, “*That the powers that were, were ordained of God; and that the civil magistrate was God’s minister on earth, invested with the sword for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that did well.*”

On the other hand, those of the Presbyterian persuasion, as they held their places only by the exertion of their talents, and attention to their duty, greatly envied the permanent situation of their Brethren at home; and therefore wished for a new modelation of government in America, by which, they might not only be invested with a higher degree of power, but have their stipends.

fettled upon a more solid and durable basis than the caprice of the people.

They accordingly proceeded to alarm the unwary populous, of the tottering situation of their liberty of conscience, asserting, "That by the establishment of Popery in Canada, and several other late acts of parliament, it plainly appeared, That Britain was intending the enforcement of Episcopacy into America, by which their then happy country would be immediately infested with cruel and oppressive bishops, vicars, and curates; who would not only rob them of the tenth of all their produce, but entertain them on Sabbaths, with dry and formal ceremony, altogether inconsistent with the plain simplicity of the gospel."

They further averred, "That the behaviour of his present Majesty, had a great familiarity to that of king Charles I. and king James II.; and might, in all probability, terminate in the same issue, as the leading ministers at court were supposed to be secretly Roman Catholics, and were intending by those curve and oblique manœuvres, to introduce a despotic and tyrannical system of government."—But as no power on earth had a right to rob them of those invaluable privileges, committed to their trust by the alone KING AND HEAD OF THE CHURCH, it was their indispensable duty to protect and defend them, *even unto the death*.—Their forefathers had bravely asserted their liberty of conscience; and although many had fallen in the honourable bed of martyrdom, yet they had effected that ever-glorious and happy Revolution.—And, "That posterity would look back with hatred and contempt, upon

such an extensive and populous continent, was it to be tamely enslaved by such a corrupted, luxurious, and dissipated island as Great-Britain."

Thus those very persons, who ought to have preached up nothing but *the cross of Christ*, with all the necessary and attendant virtues of peace, harmony, charity, and love, &c. were straining every nerve, in scattering the seeds of anger, malice, discord, and hatred, which gave deistical, and unprincipled persons, great reason to alledge, "That there was no reality in religion at all: and at last had such an effect upon the credulous people, that the horrible passions of discontent, jealousy, and revenge, sat lowering on every patriotic countenance, and totally eradicated every natural and friendly tie of affection, which did not centre in the little understood and ambiguous term of *American liberty*."

While patriotism thus rapidly proceeded, the commercial progress began to be greatly retarded; as the British vessels had all retired on the appearance of the approaching storm, and the arrival of more was totally excluded.—The principal merchants had also got into the Congress, or Committees; and the rest were either fermenting their brains with politics, or handling their arms in the field.

Although my political taciturnity, and favour with the merchants, had hitherto protected me from possing a firelock; yet I now found Philadelphia a place by far too hot for my further residence, without being introduced into the service of Mars; whose employment my sentiments rather begged leave to decline.—And as I had always entertained

an irresistible desire for exploring the interior parts of the country, I set out, intending for Cumberland county, in Pennsylvania, where a clergyman lived, to whom I had brought an introductory letter; but was unexpectedly retarded on my journey, in an old and opulent settlement in Lancaster county, inhabited by a number of capital planters; who no sooner knew that I was a stranger in the country, than they insisted that I should see them at their houses, where I was loaded with all the civilities I was capable of receiving.—And while I suffered the caresses of those very generous and hospitable people, I was variously entertained with politics, and the justness of the war, with the probability of its terminating in their favours.

When I ventured to alledge, that I thought them rather precipitant, in commencing hostilities, with such a powerful and successful empire; and that they were scarcely ripe, for the reception of a spirited explosion of the formidable resources of Great-Britain: they returned for answer, “That Great-Britain had already past the zenith of her glory, as bribery and corruption had supplanted honour and virtue; and every political motion was secretly enlivened by the springs of avarice, interest, or favour.”

“That the prosecution of a war in that country, would only be considered as a commercial, and lucrative operation, in which the officers would be more attentive to the acquisition of fortunes, and the advancement of places, than the reduction of America, or the welfare of their country. “And the soldiery being composed of the dregs

of the people, were only a subjugated parcel of slaves, who accounted the service of their country, a mechanical employment, for which they were only allowed a scanty and pitiful subsistence; and could not be supposed to fight with such emulation and courage, as the brave and spirited freemen of America, who would only be engaged in the defence of their country, and the protection of their lives, liberty, and property, with every other dear and interesting connection."

They even admitted, "That it might be in the power of Great-Britain, by means of their navy, to block up their harbours, and desolate their seaport towns; but that would be very immaterial to them, who could live on their plantations, almost independent of all the world beside; and prevent the English from ever penetrating into the country, as their riflemen could shoot them from behind trees, as fast as they would advance."

They likewise predicted, "That should it happen to be necessary, the French or Spaniards would willingly lend them their assistance, for the benefit of their trade."

Thus I was entertained, with a prophetic disquisition of the progress of the war; and was not a little surprized to observe, a people who had hitherto enjoyed the most profuse affluence and ease, so unanimous in adopting a chimerical system of liberty, so pregnant with uncertainty, and all the horrors and desolations of an internal war.

Those who represented to government, that the disturbances in America, proceeded only from an inconsiderable and designing faction, were certain-

ly much mistaken in their reckoning, as every unbiafed person, who was prefent in the country, will readily allow, that it was not only a general, but an almoft unanimous fatisfaction.

It is true, that in Virginia, and the Carolinas, were vaft numbers of Scots-men, with fome in the reft of the Colonies, who moftly remained attached to government;—and a few other mild and temperate people, who ftill wifhed for a continuation of the Britifh legiflation.—But thefe bore fuch a fmall proportion to the majority, that they were either obliged to conceal their fentiments, or undergo the fevereft calamities.

Having proceeded on my journey, I arrived at the Bigspring, within a few miles of Carlifle, in one of the moft fertile, flourifhing, and agreeable fettlements, Pennsylvania could produce; where I was received by my reverend friend, and his very valuable lady, with fuch a degree of familiarity, and friendfhip, as I had feldom experienced before.

During the hoftile preparations of the patriots, General Gage, governor of Maffachufets Colony, had been appointed Commander in Chief of the Britifh troops in America, with orders to exert his utmoft endeavours for quieting the minds of the people, and preventing the prevailing difturbances:—and, for that purpofe, he had iffued a long proclamation, peremptorily prohibiting the meeting of Congreffes or Committees; which had no other effect, than exafperating the people, and increafing their contempt of fovereign authority.

The Congress, about this time, seemed to be greatly embarrassed concerning the inhabitants in the city of Boston, as by its situation on a Peninsula, only joined to the Continent by a narrow neck of land, it could easily be converted by General Gage's army, into a sort of prison, wherein the inhabitants would be kept as hostages for the better behaviour of the rest of the country.

They therefore proposed, that the inhabitants should be removed, the city burned, and the owners indemnified for their loss.—But this proposition was found, to be attended with such numberless unexpected difficulties, that it was, at last, totally rejected; and nothing remained, but for the militia to prepare, with all expedition, and march to their relief.

All hopes of an accommodation with Great-Britain being now at an end, the patriots had lost all temper and moderation, and proceeded to the most daring attempts with the greatest alacrity.—Almost all the King's stores in the several Colonies were seized; and the people of Newhampshire, took possession of Fort William and Mary, where they found a considerable quantity of gun-powder, and other ammunition.

The Provincial Assembly of New-York, was one exception to the unanimity of the Colonies; for, by a small majority, they had disapproved of the resolves of Congress, and had drawn up a long petition to the court of Great-Britain, upon which they founded the highest expectations: but this being also rejected, they unite with the rest of the Colonies in the greatest disappointment.

The Americans having collected a considerable quantity of warlike stores, at the town of Concord, where the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay was held,—General Gage thought proper to send a detachment of grenadiers and light infantry, with orders to seize them.

This detachment, supposed to consist of near 900 men, embarked at Boston, on the evening of the 18th of April 1775, and having gone a considerable way up Charles-River, they landed, and proceeded towards Concord, with the greatest silence and caution. Notwithstanding of which, they observed, that the country was alarmed, by the firing of guns, and ringing of bells; besides a considerable body of militia, who had assembled on a green beside the town of Lexington.

The British troops, on their arrival, ordered the militia to disperse; but they refusing, a sort of scattering engagement commenced, in which the militia had eight killed and several wounded.

The detachment having proceeded, and arrived at Concord, they there destroyed the ordnance, ammunition, and stores which they found, and began to return.—But the war having thus commenced, and American blood being now shed, the melancholy news flew like lightening through the country, while the militia assembled in the greatest rancour and fury, threatening vengeance and destruction to those *blood-hounds of tyranny*, as they called them.

The British troops were now furiously attacked on all sides, from behind walls, trees, and fences; and were obliged to support an almost incessant

fire upon so very unequal terms, till they got back to Lexington, where they were met by Earl Percy, with a large detachment, and two pieces of canon, which kept the militia at their distance, and brought off the troops, although with considerable loss on both sides.

The news of this tragical excursion, was no sooner known in the rest of the provinces, than the whole country was aroused to arms; and the militia repaired to Boston, in such amazing numbers, that the inhabitants and army were totally blockaded, and cut off from being supplied with provisions and other necessaries from the country.

The Congress now began to drive the chariot of American-government with rapid career; and past resolutions for establishing an army, with a large paper currency for its payment, being bills of credit issued by Congress, in the name of the UNITED COLONIES, by which appellation they had now distinguished themselves.

In the mean time, some private companies of enterprizing patriots, had gone and taken possession of the forts of Ticonderago and Crownpoint, situated upon the lakes between New-England and Canada: where they found a considerable quantity of military stores, and about 200 pieces of canon, besides two vessels, which gave them the command of Lake Champlain, and some others.

Towards the end of May, Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boston from England, with a considerable force; when it was ex-

pected, that these disturbances would have been effectually crushed, as it had often been asserted in Parliament, that a regiment or two of British troops, could force their way from one end of the colonies to the other.

Nothing of consequence, however, occurred till towards the middle of June, when General Gage issued a proclamation, offering pardon to all who were disposed to lay down their arms, and return to their respective occupations, excepting only Samuel Adams and John Hancock, both members of Congress; the latter having some time before been chosen president.—It also declared, that martial law should take place; and all who remained in obstinacy, should be treated as traitors and rebels.

This proclamation was accounted by the Americans, only as a prelude to the commencement of hostilities; and, in order to be prepared for the worst,—on the night of the 16th of June, they began to throw up works upon BUNKER'S HILL, situate a little within the Isthmus, which joins the peninsula of Charlestown to the main land, and only separated from Boston by Charles-River.

They carried on their work with such secrecy, and expedition, that towards the morning, they had a strong redoubt, a breast-work, and considerable entrenchments almost completed.—But were no sooner observed by the Lively war-ship, than they were furiously attacked by her, and the floating-batteries.—Notwithstanding of which, they continued their work, till about noon, when General Gage sent a detachment of about 2000

men, under the command Major General Howe, and Brigadier General Pigot, to drive the Provincials out of their works.

The attack was commenced by a most tremendous cannonade, and bombardment, while the troops slowly advanced, in order to give the artillery time to demolish the works, which the Provincials bore with great composure and fortitude, and did not return one single shot, till the British were within a little of their works, when they poured such an unexpected shower of well-directed rifle-shot among them, as not only carried off vast numbers of officers, but threw the troops into such consternation and confusion, as had almost been productive of a defeat.

At this critical moment, Sir Henry Clinton arrived from Boston; and rallying the troops, brought them again to the charge; when they furiously attacked the lines with fixed bayonets; and, after an incredible carnage, drove the Provincials out of their works.

During the engagement, the beautiful Town of CHARLESTOWN had, either intentionally or accidentally, been set on fire, and burned to the ground.

The loss of the British in this desperate action, was generally allowed to be about 200 killed, and 800 wounded; besides a lieutenant-colonel, two majors, seven captains, and nine subalterns killed; and about seventy officers wounded.—Those mostly regretted, were lieutenant-colonel Abercromby, with the majors Pitcairn and Spendlove.

The loss of the Provincials, from the various ac-

counts, could never be properly ascertained; but was allowed to be very considerable, although the American accounts reported it to be little more than 400 men.

The battle of Bunker's-hill was immediately re-founded all over the country, as "a great victory obtained over their enemies, as they had repeatedly repulsed them with inconceivable slaughter, although they had at last retired from their works."

The real accounts of the action began to be slowly circulated, although with the greatest caution, as the informers were always allowed to be enemies to *American liberty*.

The Congress now finding matters approach towards extremity, proceeded to appoint general officers, and to regulate the pay of their army.—George Washington, Esq; a gentleman of considerable fortune in Virginia, was appointed general, and commander in chief, of all the Continental forces of America; while Artemus Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, were appointed to be major-generals; and Horatio Gates, adjutant general.

The pay of the private men was no less than eight dollars *per* month; besides provisions and cloathing, with some other necessaries.—An ensign had twenty, a lieutenant thirty, and a captain forty dollars *per* month, with rations; but no cloathing.—The pay of the field officers and generals was proportionally great; only it is to be observed, that the commander in chief would accept of no other pay, than a re-imbursment of necessary expences: and immediately after his appointment

proceeded to Boston to take the command, accompanied by General Lee, and a large company of volunteers; and was received in the camp, then at Cambridge, with the greatest acclamations of joy, and general satisfaction.

In the mean time, the province of Georgia had acceded to the general alliance; and accordingly sent their delegates to the general Congress, which now assumed the appellation of *The Delegates for the THIRTEEN UNITED COLONIES*. And, in order to sooth the minds of the people, and to proceed with a greater degree of apparent propriety, they again drew up a long petition to the King; an address to the people of Great-Britain; and a declaration to the Thirteen United Colonies, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms. And as this, in effect, comprehends the former two, and is a clear indication of the general spirit of the country, I shall here insert it in its own words, as follows.

“ IF it was possible for men, who exercise their reason, to believe that the divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute propriety in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination, never rightly resistible, however severe and oppressive; the inhabitants of these Colonies might at least require, from the parliament of Great-Britain, some evidence, that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body.

“ But a reverence for our great Creator, prin-

ciples of humanity, and the dictates of common-sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end.

“The legislature of Great-Britain, however stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power, not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting these, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these Colonies by violence; and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal, from *reason* to *arms*.

“Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so as to slight justice, and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound, by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.—Our forefathers, inhabitants of the Island of Great-Britain, left their native land, to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom, at the expence of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from which they removed; by unceasing labour, and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of Barbarians.—Societies or governments, vested with perfect legislators, were formed under charters from the crown, and an

harmonious intercourse was established between the Colonies, and the kingdom from which they derived their origin.—The mutual benefits of this union became, in a short time, so extraordinary, as to excite astonishment.

“ It is universally confessed, that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navigation of the realm, arose from this source; and the minister, who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great-Britain, in the late war, publicly declared, that these colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies.

“ Towards the conclusion of that war, it pleased our Sovereign to make a change in his counsels. From that fatal moment the affairs of the British empire began to fall into confusion; and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity, to which they had been advanced, by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions, that now shake it to its deepest foundations. The new ministry, finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

“ These devoted Colonies were judged to be in such a state, as to present victories, with bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour, from the beginning of Colonization; their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply ac-

known in the most honourable manner by his Majesty, by the late king, and by parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations.

“Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project; and, assuming a new power over them, have, in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it.—They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property.

“Statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty, and of vice-admiralty, beyond their ancient limits, for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of the colonies; for interdicting all commerce of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government, established by charter; and secured by acts of its own legislature, solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the ‘murderers’ of colonists from legal trial, and, in effect, from punishment; for erecting, in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great-Britain and America, a despotism, dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace.—It has also been resolved in parliament, that colonists, charged

with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried.

“ But, why should we ennumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it is declared, that Parliament can “ of right make laws to bind us in all “ cases whatsoever.” What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those, who assume it, is chosen by us, or is subject to our controul or influence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws: and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens, in proportion as they increase ours.

“ We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us.—We, for ten years, incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with Parliament, in the most mild and decent language.—But administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures, as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them.—The indignation of the Americans was roused, it is true; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people.

“ A Congress of delegates from the united colonies was assembled at Philadelphia, on the 5th day of last September. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the King; and also addressed our fellow-subjects of Great-Britain.—We have pursued every temperate, every respect-

ful measure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow-subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth should supplant our attachment to liberty.—This we flatter ourselves, was the ultimate step of controversy; but subsequent events have shown how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

“Several threatening expressions against the colonies were inserted in his Majesty’s speech. Our petition, though we were told it was a decent one; that his Majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his parliament, was huddled into both houses among a bundle of American papers, and there neglected.—The Lords and Commons in their address, in the month of February, said, That a rebellion at that time actually existed within the province of Massachusetts-Bay; and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his Majesty’s subjects in several of the other colonies; and therefore they besought his Majesty, that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature.

Soon after the commercial intercourse of whole colonies, with foreign countries, and each other, was cut off by an act of Parliament; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their sustenance; and large

reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

“ Fruitless were all the intreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished Peers and Commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay or even to mitigate the headless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on.—Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns, in our favour.

“ Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre, calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations, where colony should bid against colony, all of them uninformed what ransom should redeem their lives; and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us, of raising in our own mode the prescribed tribute.—What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies! In our present circumstances, to accept them would be to deserve them.

“ Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on this Continent, General Gage, who, in the course of the last year, had taken possession of the town of Boston in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the 19th day of April sent out, from that place, a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province, at

the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment; murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others.

“ From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killing several, and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country-people, suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression.

“ Hostilities, thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them, without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of Boston being confined within that town by the General, their governor; and having, in order to procure their dismissal, entered into a treaty with him; it was stipulated that the said inhabitants, having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects.—They accordingly delivered up their arms; but, in open violation of honour, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteem sacred, the governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers; detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind them.

“ By this perfidy, wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and sick from their relations and friends, who wish to attend and comfort them; and those who have

been used to live in plenty, and even in elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

“ The General further emulating his ministerial masters, by a proclamation bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these Colonies, proceeds to “ declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors; to supersede the course of the common law; and, in stead thereof, to publish and order the use and exercise of the *law-martial*.”—His troops have butchered our countrymen, have wantonly burned Charlestown, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted; and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

“ We have received certain intelligence, that General Carleton, the governor of Canada, is instigating the people of that province, and the Indians, to fall upon us; and we have but too much reason to apprehend, that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us.

“ In brief, a part of these Colonies now feels, and all of them are full of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of chusing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice, and humanity forbid us tamely

to surrender that freedom, which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us.—We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

“ Our cause is just: our union is perfect: our internal resources are great; and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. — We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the divine favour towards us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves.

“ With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world declare, That, exerting the utmost energy of these powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being with one mind resolved to die freemen, rather than to live slaves.

“ Least this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects, in any part of the empire, we assure them, that we mean not to dissolve that union, which has so long and so happily subsisted between us; and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven

us to that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies, with ambitious designs of separating from Great-Britain, and establishing Independent States. We fight not for glory, or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation, or even suspicion of offence.—They boast of their privileges and civilization; and yet profer no milder conditions, than servitude or death.

“ In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed, till the late violation of it, for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers, and ourselves; against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down, when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors. And all dangers of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

“ With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to conduct us happily through this great conflict; to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation, on reasonable terms; and thereby to relieve the Empire from the calamities of civil war.”

By order of the Congress,

PHILADELPHIA, } JOHN HANCOCK, President.
 July 6th, 1775. } Attest. CHA. THOMSON, Secretary.



C H A P. IV.

Proceedings of the Congress, and general enthusiasm of the Colonists.—I am hard pressed to join the militia, and set out for the new settlements.—The manner of travelling and sleeping in the woods described.—I arrive at the banks of the Ohio-River, and practise surveying land.—A description of the country in its original state, with its wild beasts and reptiles.—The manner of procuring and settling of land, with the various methods of clearing and improving plantations.—The way of living, and social diversions of the inhabitants.—The genius, habit, figure, complexion, way of living, manners, customs, religion, government, and peculiarities of the Indians.

THE Congress, at this time, seemed to entertain very inadequate ideas concerning the formation and permanency of an army; for, they imagined, that all the people were possessed of such permanent zeal and patriotism as to turn out, whenever it should be hinted, that their assistance was necessary; and accordingly they enlisted their troops only for a year, six months, or whatever time was most suitable to the people.

They even appeared to be a little embarrassed in the career of their government: like persons practising a business, of which they have not a thorough experience, they had enacted several laws,

which, proving inadequate to the purpose, were obliged to be supported by new ones, of a more determinate and arbitrary nature.—The militia-law was ordered to be steadily enforced; and copies of the Continental-Affociation, were transmitted all over the colonies, to be subscribed by every individual, capable of bearing arms: and those who refused this test of adherance, were treated by the merciless committee-men, in the most cruel and arbitrary manner, as “enemies to their country, and as unworthy of the *liberties of America*.”

A political phrenzy, and martial enthusiasm, had now taken possession of every description of patriots; even old men, heads of capital families, formed themselves into the ranks of independent and volunteer batalions, and repaired to Boston with the greatest devotion. Their women had likewise received the intoxicating spirit to such a degree, that it appeared a perfect phænomenon in nature, to observe them, with the greatest expedition and chearfulness, fitting up their husbands, fathers, and brothers, for the dangerous, and often fatal exercises of the field of battle.

Their public ensigns appeared to proclaim the greatest heroism and virtue. Their colours contained, in large capital letters, “LIBERTY OR DEATH;” their cartouch-boxes and capes, “LIBERTY IS THE PRIZE;” and their paper continental dollars, either displayed a snake cut in pieces, with the motto of, UNITE OR DIE; or a chain, in imitation of the united colonies, with the motto of, MIND YOUR BUSINESS.

During the progress of these internal operations, I frequently attended their musters and meetings, along with my reverend friend, who, as an advocate for liberty, often disordered their plans, and embarrassed their counsels, by his uncommon acuteness of genius, and forcible manner of arguing.

At last, they began to express their amazement, that, I should lose such an opportunity of learning the military art, by which I might not only have the honour of defending my country, but arrive at high preferments in the army.

I told them that my disposition did not seem to incline to a military life; and that I could scarcely yet say, which was my country, as having finished my education at an early period, I had only taken a trip of travelling before I should settle in the world, in order to evaporate the fumes of foppery, incident to my nation.

In answer to which, they informed me, “ that if I considered myself a subject of Britain, I ought to have retired on the commencement of hostilities, as no travelling was allowed in belligerent states, to subjects of the enemy; and as matters then stood, I would be obliged, not only to sign the association, but to take my turn in the militia.

I begged a few days for consideration; which was accordingly granted me, out of respect to my friend, who was greatly beloved in that place. —And, as I had no other alternative left me, but either to comply with their demands, or immediately decamp, I set out, (being about the middle of summer) for the new settlements on the banks

of the Ohio-River, along with three young men, who were accidentally coming past.

Having travelled the first day pretty comfortably; on the second, we got as far as the Blue-Mountains, the rugged steepness of which, was truly terrifying. The passage by which we ascended, run up the tract of a rivulet, through almost inaccessible rocks, till they got to the top: and our horses, possessing much of the agile quality of goats, we made shift to descend a winding path, cut in an almost perpendicular precipice, to the foot of the mountain.

The heat of the day, and difficulty in crossing, had obliged me to lay off my coat; but when I came to put it on, to my great surprize and vexation, I found, that I had irrecoverably lost my pocket-book, with all my money; and was going out to a country, where I had not so much as the most distant acquaintance.

But being now out of the inhabited world, I had little occasion for money; for we carried provisions along with us, and at nights, turned out our horses to feed in the woods, struck up a fire, regaled ourselves from our budgets, and went to sleep on the ground.—In the morning we found our horses, by the assistance of bells hung about their necks for that purpose, and proceeded on our journey.

Having travelled for some days in this manner, we got across the great Alliginay-mountains, and Laurel-hills; and arrived, after a journey, containing various adventures and difficulties, in that most fertile and agreeable country on the banks of

the Ohio-River, which commands the trade of the West-Indies, and Spanish settlements: and when it comes to be fully settled, will be a considerable place of commerce.

Having spent some time in exploring the country, I fixed my residence at the house of a rich old widow, who had retired to this new settlement, with her only son and daughter, and lived in the greatest harmony and affluence.

After ruminating upon what was best to be done in my present exigences, I found, that surveying land, was not only the most agreeable, but most lucrative employment I could follow in that place: and accordingly set about it, with such diligence and success, that I soon acquired a competency for my present felicity; while I had a constant opportunity of observing, that my former romantic ideas, concerning the country in its primitive state, had almost attained to the truth.

The hills, as well as the vallies, are all covered with lofty trees, of white, red, and black oaks; hickory, ash, elm, maple, poplar, locust, mulberry, plumb, and service-berry trees; with variety of others, too tedious to enumerate.

The woods are well stored with wild vines of different sorts, and various other shrubs and offiers. —The wood is generally straight, and grows to an amazing height in the trunk, which is easily split into shingles, staves, boards, and rails.

The most remarkable wild beasts in this country, are first, the buffaloe; a large animal, nearer the species of a cow than any other creature.—Its carcass sometimes weights twelve hundred weight, and

is excellent meat. They generally travel in large droves to the salt-springs or licks, which are very plenty down the Ohio-River.

Dears are amazingly plenty in the new settlements, being beautiful creatures of surprizing celerity, whose skins are of well-known use: but their carcases are exceedingly dry venison.

Bears are indifferently plenty; but seldom attack, except in great extremity; and, when hard hunted, they generally climb up trees, where often ascending higher than their track will allow, they tumble down, and become a prey to their pursuers. — Their flesh is excellent eating, being much of the quality of pork.

There are also plenty of racoons, squirrels, and rabbits; with several other quadrupeds, which make delicious venison.

Wild turkeys are amazingly plenty in the new countries; and are so very stupid, that they will sit, in large flocks, upon the trees, till you may shoot as many as you please: but when the country is tolerably settled, they become exceedingly wild and shy.

Rattle-snakes, copperheads, vipers, black-racers; garter, green, and water-snakes, with a great many different species of other reptiles, are pretty plenty; but seldom bite, except when trode upon, which is not often the case.

The quality of the land is generally known by the wood which it produces. — That which is covered with walnut, hickery, ash, and black oak, is always the best; or even where any of these is to-

lerably plenty, it is good: but wherever pines or cedars are found, the soil is always the worst.

The country is well supplied with excellent fresh water springs; and has plenty of coal near the surface, west of the Alliginay-mountains.—Limestone is likewise in great plenty, both in the old and new settlements.

The first claimer of a tract of land, holds it by an indisputable law-right; and has nothing more to pay, than some trifling quit-rents, and a small sum for a deed or charter, with a draught of the place from the Provincial Surveyor-General's office, where it is entered, according to its situation. Although this is not necessary to be done, till they are ten or twelve years settled.

The greatest part of the land, in the new settlements, near the frontiers, is claimed by hunters, or persons who go out to kill deer in the fall of the year; and mark all the land they find unclaimed for themselves, which they generally sell to persons intending to settle, for sometimes so small a sum that is scarcely a compensation for the trouble of looking it out.

A plantation, or tract of land in New Virginia, or on the banks of the Ohio, was upwards of 400 acres: but a person under that name could hold near 500 acres.—No person was allowed to claim more than one plantation, unless they had a family; and then, they might hold one for each child, even although they were very young.

When a plantation is going to be settled, the first thing they do upon it, is to build a small house of slim straight timber, by cutting the trees the

exact length of the side-walls, and ends, and natching them at the corners in form of dove-tail.

The roof is formed by shortening the end logs, from the wall-top, till it terminates in a point, and is then covered with boards, split from short cuts of the best oak, which they do with the greatest dexterity and expedition, as well as the chopping and hewing of wood.

The floor is laid of logs, hewn quite smooth in form of planks and exceedingly close seamed.—The door and windows are cut out with a saw, after the cell is raised; the ends of the logs being properly supported and fastened to side-posts.—The seams in the walls are filled up with chips of wood, and close bedaubed with clay.

The house being thus finished, which is generally done, by four or five smart hands in a day, they then lay off a field, exactly square, which they clear, by picking up with a mattock all the small brushwood, which, by the bye, is very scarce in the new settlements.

The wood being so very thin and clean, that the largest carriage may be drove, with the greatest ease, almost all over the country.

The small trees are always cut down, and heaped up for burning, along with the brushwood.—The best of the timber is thrown down, and cut off in logs of eleven feet long, which they split into spars, or rails, of a proper size, of which they build the fence, by laying them in a winding form of obtuse angles, about 150 degrees, with the fore end

upon a piece of wood, and the other upon the fore end of the rail behind.—The corners on each side, are straight in a line with one another; and the operation repeated, till the fence is six feet high, which is made quite fast from shaking, by fixing poles in the ground on each side; and crossing their tops at the corners, they lay heavy rails across their projected points, which also adds to the height of the fence.

All the remaining wood upon the field is killed, by striking an ax into the bark all round; by which the tree is deprived of nourishment, and never puts out more.

The land in the new settlements is generally so easily cleared, that one hand can fence and clear a ten-acre field, in the course of a winter.—A good workman can cut down, log off, and split 200 rails in a day.—Neither is the wood, being left upon the ground any great incumbrance, as by their dexterity in plowing, they go close round the trees, whose naked arms, have little effect, in preventing the powerful influence of the summer's sun.

The field being thus cleared and fenced, it is run off by parallel furrows, six feet apart; which are again crossed by others of the same nature, only four feet apart.—The Indian corn is planted about the middle of May, by laying five or six grains together, at the crossings of the furrows, which is nicely covered over with a hoe;—and the vacancies plowed up afterwards.

The potatoes, and other garden stuffs, are planted about the same time; the raising of which,

and the hoeing of the corn, is the principal part of their summer's work.

About the end of September, the corn is ripe, which is cut down, and taken in, and the ground sown with wheat and rye.—A new field is cleared next winter for spring grain; and so they proceed from less to more, till they became capital planters.

Their horses, cattle, and hogs run wild in the woods; the oldest having a bell hung about its neck, which can be heard at a great distance, by which they are found at any time, every person knowing the sound of their own bell, even among several at a time.—It is very common for one farmer to own 40 or 50 hogs, which run in the woods, and live upon nuts, &c. with little expence to the owner.

The only market they have for their surplus grain, in the new settlements, for sometime, is the families which are daily settling among them, and always want a supply for the first year: but after the country is tolerably settled, and begins to approach towards a state of perfection, commerce extends, stores and merchant-milns are erected all over the country, which not only supply them with necessary articles, but purchase their produce in return.

It is almost impossible to describe, how easily the world may be begun in this new country.—I have often known young men, possessed of no other stock in the world, than their rifle-gun, an ax, a mattock, and a hoe, with some other implements,

go out and take up a tract of land, upon which they would build a small hut, and clear a little field: but having no horse, would plant and raise a crop of corn, &c. with their hoe, which would procure them necessaries for a comfortable beginning.—And even although they were not able to purchase a horse, with which they could join with any other person, in the same situation, they needed be at no loss about sowing of their wheat, &c. as, for a few days work, they could have a large field, plowed by those who had horses to spare.

Nothing can be more charming and agreeable, than the general sociality and harmony which reign among all ranks of people, settled in a new country.—Every particular piece of work is done by what they call a *frolick*, which is the gathering of a number of the neighbours together, and doing it off at once.

When the corn is ripe, the ears are hauled home, and laid up in a heap; and as many invited as will husk it in an evening.—There, persons of every description, attend and work together, with the greatest equality, mirth, and amusement.

The corn being all husked, they retire to a decent supper; after which, they dance, or play at any other game, or diversion, that is most agreeable to the company.—Few nocturnal entertainments ever gave me more real amusement and satisfaction, than those social meetings.—During the time I was a stranger, every person seemed more assiduous than another to promote my happiness and entertainment.

Another capital frolic, but of a more laborious nature, and totally performed by men, is, the rolling, or heaping for burning, all the deadened trees which have fallen down in a field through the course of the winter; by which the land is totally cleared in a few years.

In the month of February, they make large quantities of sugar from a species of the mapple, which there goes under the name of the *sugar-tree*. The woods abound with a sort of tea-plant; and even spice-wood, sage, and saffrafras are sometimes used instead of that article.—Thus all nature seems to conspire for the ease, comfort, and encouragement of settling those fertile and extensive regions.

My enthusiasm for travelling not being yet satisfied, I set out in order to see some remarkable places, of which I had read in the history of the last war.

The first I visited was the famous field where General Braddock was defeated by the French, and their Indian allies, which now goes under the name of *Braddock's field*; and still retains the greatest indications of an incredible carnage.

The next place I came to was the pleasantly situated town of Pittsburgh, which stands upon the banks of the Mohongola-river, a little above the point, where the junction of it and Alliginay, form the great Ohio-river.—The famous Fort du Quesne formerly stood on the very point where the two rivers unite, but is now in ruins.

FORT PITT (so called, in honour of the late Earl of Chatham) now stands between the town of Pitts-

burgh, and the head of the Ohio; and is surrounded by a strong wall, and well fortified with artillery.—Near it stands Grant's-hill, or the place where General Grant was defeated by a sally of the French and Indians from Fort du Quesne.

The desire I had always entertained to visit the Indian nations, induced me to forgoe every apprehension of danger; and to embrace the opportunity of going along with some young men, who were going out among those savage people.

We accordingly crossed the Alliginay-river, and explored our way through that great tract of country, yet in possession of the natives; the bounds of which are unknown to Europeans. And when we arrived at the Indian towns, or parcels of huts, we were received with a degree of civility and hospitality, as unexpected as surprising.

Those expressive emblems of unpolished nature, sometimes display an uncommon ability of genius, and shine with a tolerable lustre, when blessed with a literary education.

Their ordinary dress in summer, is a pair of mocofoons, or shoes made of buckskin; a pair of legings, or piece of buckskin wrapt about their legs; a breech-cover, or piece of skin fastened about their groin; and in winter they wear a buffalo's hide, wrapt about their body, to preserve them from the intense cold.—Both men and women are so excessively fond of jewels and bracelets, that their arms, ears, and noses, are loaded with enormous trinkets.

Those who have trade and intercourse with the white people, have their legings and breech co-

vers of cloth, which are curiously decorated with waumpum, or small beads, and are provided with blankets, rifles, hatchets, powder, lead, and rum, in return for their skins and furs.

The full dress of an Indian, on days of festivity, is nothing more than a pair of mocofoons, and a breech-cloth; all the rest of his body being naked, and curiously painted various colours.—Sometimes in imitation of the back-wood hunters, and other white people, who occasionally visit them, they are seen to wear a hunting skirt, which is made open before; and being curiously fringed, is tied about their waist with a belt of waumpum.

They are naturally of an olive, or tawny colour; and generally anoint themselves with bears grease, and other softning ingredients, to preserve them from the scorching effect of the sun.—The Indian men are exceedingly straight, well-proportioned, and very grave; but their women, owing to their state of servitude, are not so handsome.

They generally live in small towns, composed of a parcel of little huts, or cabbins; and move from place to place as they find it convenient.—They principally live by hunting and fishing, with a little corn which they raise, and make into homony, instead of bread.

The women do all the laborious work; such as, cutting the wood, building the hut, preparing the ground, and raising the corn; with every other piece of menial employment.

In the morning, the men go out to hunt; and when they kill a deer, or any such animal, they take off the skin, which they carry along with

them: but the carcase is left for the women to bring home.—The men imagine it derogatory to their dignity, to interfere in any other concerns than hunting and war.

When the head of a family returns from hunting, the wife has the kettle ready, with his fare, of which he partakes alone, in a stately manner: and when he has done, the rest take what he has left, while he repairs to bed; and the wife dries and rubs his moccasins for to-morrow's excursions.

The Indians seldom enter into any formal marriage, but take wives for a specified time; and if they behave well, they keep them still; but if not, they are sent away, and may be taken by another.

They never chastise their children, but allow their natural disposition a full sway.—Their feasts and entertainments are exceedingly natural and simple.—They never speak but when they have something of importance to utter, which they generally deliver with the most profound gravity, and oratorical emphasis.

Those of one nation, or alley, behave with the greatest respect and complacency to one another; and are warm and affectionate in their personal friendships: but when ill-used, or otherwise affronted, time itself can scarcely eradicate their revenge.

To the shame of Atheists, they, as well as all other savage people, by a necessary consequence of their immortality, believe in the existence of a supreme being; but imagine him of too exalted and incomprehensible a nature, to take cognizance of such insignificant creatures as they; and commonly

denominate him the GOOD MAN: while, at the same time, they believe in the existence of a *bad man*, or malevolent being, who has power to injure them at pleasure; and, to prevent which, they devote the whole ceremony of their adulation to him.

They are exceeding credulous and superstitious in religious matters; and are often greatly imposed upon by prophetic enthusiasts, who arise and make them believe, that they have had extraordinary revelations, concerning their fate in war, and the rise or downfall of their several nations.

Their preparation for, and proceedings in war, are horrible, beyond all expression; and often display the most barbarous accuteness of invention, in tormenting their unhappy captives, who always endure those excruciating tortures, with the greatest patience, fortitude, and perseverance.

Their system of government is by kings, chiefs, and captains.—A king is head of a nation, of which there are a great many; a chief of a tribe, and a captain of a party of warriors.—Their crown is in a great measure hereditary; while, at the same time, in the disposal of the people: but their chiefs and captains generally rise by their personal merit.

Being altogether destitute of literary accomplishments, or the fine arts, their great geniuses are only emulous to render themselves popular by fates in war, dexterity in hunting, or fluency in oratory.

By their intercourse with the Europeans, they are frequently put in possession of large quantities of rum, and other spiritous liquors, with which they often make too free, and throw themselves, before they are aware, into a state of absolute intoxication; but no sooner recover their reason, than they are so much ashamed of such an egregious deviation from nature, that if any white person should happen to have been among them, who had not his senses buried in the same gulf of beastly oblivion, rather than such a witness of their enormous brutality should have any more existence, they will endeavour to conceal their drunkenness by murder, and will sacrifice the life of the unlucky person to their shame and remorse.

It would far exceed the bounds of my present intentions, to enumerate the various peculiarities incident to those savage people: let it therefore for the present suffice, that being fully satisfied, respecting the various customs, and way of living of those unpolished nations, I returned to my former habitation, and prosecuted my former employment with great success and comfort, being daily attended by the several owners of the land, which was bounded by the lines I was surveying, who were all solicitous to have me home with them at nights, when I and my horse were treated with the best they could afford.—But as it is now time to turn my views to more unmitting objects, —I shall, in the next place, take a retrospect of the proceedings of the war.

C H A P. V.

The Congress send an expedition against Canada.—They take Fort Chamblee, and get possession of St. Johns, and Montreal, by capitulation.—Arnold arrives with a detachment from Boston.—They attempt to storm Quebec, but are repulsed.—The distresses of the army and inhabitants in Boston.—Proceedings of the Americans.—A committee of Congress repair to Boston.—General Howe embarks the army.—General Washington takes possession of Boston.—The British army arrive at Halifax.—The Congress assume arbitrary powers.—My manner of living in the new settlements.—I return to the lower counties, after various adventures and difficulties.—Disputes between Governor Dunmore and the Virginians.—He removes the powder magazine, and arms the negroes.—He is defeated by the Virginians at Great-Bridge, and takes to the war-ships, with a great many friends to government.—An attempt by the Scots Emigrants in Carolina, but are defeated and totally dispersed.—The British troops attempt to reduce the Carolinas, but are repulsed with great loss.—The joy of the Americans on that occasion.—The declaration of the independence of North America.

THE Congress being determined to prosecute the war with all possible vigour: while the British army was weak and coop'd up in Bos-

ton, had detached an army from Crown-Point and Ticonderago, under the command of General Schuyler and Montgomery, which marched into Canada, with orders to reduce all the British fortifications in that province; and to endeavour to persuade the Canadians to join the rest of the colonists, in compliance with the government of Congress.

They accordingly, about the beginning of September 1775, arrived at the island of St. Johns, where, on their landing, they were so roughly handled by a party of British and Indians, as not only threw them into great disorder, but obliged them, for the time, to retreat.—Immediately after this unexpected repulse, General Schuyler was obliged to return to Albany, where he was detained by various business, upon which the whole weight of the Canada expedition devolved upon General Montgomery, who soon after found means to lay siege to the fort of St. Johns, at this time garrisoned by near two regiments of British troops, and well provided with artillery, ammunition, and stores.

In the mean time, one Ethan Allan, an American adventurer, at the head of a party of enthusiasts, intended to surprise the town of Montreal; but, on his approach, he was met by a detachment of troops, who totally defeated his party, and took himself prisoner, when he was cast into irons, and sent prisoner to England, by Governor Carleton; but was soon sent back to America.

The progress of General Montgomery, before

the garrison of St. Johns, began to be greatly retarded for want of gun-powder, and other materials; upon which, he turned his attention to a small fort, called Chamblee, which he easily carried; and there found such a supply of ammunition, as enabled him to carry on the siege of St. Johns, with such rigour and perseverance, that about the beginning of November, the garrison surrendered, upon being allowed to retain their private effects, the officers to wear their side-arms, and the whole to march out with the honours of war.

Animated with these successes, Montgomery immediately proceeded to Montreal, which, being in no condition to hold out, also surrendered, upon security being given, that the inhabitants should be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and peaceable possession of their private effects.

In the mean time, Governor Carleton escaped to Quebec; having passed the enemy's works, in a boat with muffled oars, in the course of a dark night; while all the vessels in the harbour, with General Prescott and several other officers, were obliged to surrender prisoners of war.

Whilst matters were thus going on in Upper Canada, Colonel Arnold had been detached from Boston, with about 1100 men, in order to assist in the total reduction of that province: And, after a most extraordinary difficult passage up the Kennibec river, in which they were frequently obliged to carry their batteaux and provisions, for nine, ten, and sometimes twelve miles at a time, they arrived before Quebec, about the 10th of November;

and having repeatedly summoned the garrison to no purpose, he drew off his troops, in order to be refreshed.

General Montgomery having left a few troops in the Fort of Montreal, proceeded, with all expedition, to join Colonel Arnold; by whose assistance, and his former successes, he was inspired with audacity sufficient to make an attack upon the almost impregnable garrison of Quebec; before whose formidable walls, that brave and renowned young hero, General WOLF, drew his last breath.

Accordingly, having made every necessary preparation, he opened a bombardment with five small mortars, which, by the intrepidity and uncommon military genius of the governor, with the bravery of the rest of the officers and soldiers, was rendered of little or no effect.

In a few days after, he opened a six-gun battery, within a little of the garrison; but his mettal being too light, he found this also unsuccessful. And the inclemency of the weather, in that cold climate, not admitting of tedious operations, he was either obliged to risque the fate of the expedition, upon a desperate attempt, or abandon the enterprize.

In consequence of which, on the last day of the year 1775, they proceeded to storm the Fort at two separate places, by two grand divisions; the one led on by Montgomery in person, and the other by Arnold, who was next in command.

The tremendous artillery, frowning on their spirited approach, began with hideous roar to belch forth flames, anguish, and death, with such fury and success, that among many others the brave

Montgomery fell; which struck his division with such consternation and terror, that they retired in the greatest disorder and precipitation.

In the mean time, Arnold and his party, had carried an outer batter, and was rapidly proceeding, when he was wounded by a shot in the leg, which obliged him to be carried off to the camp.

His troops still ignorant of Montgomery's fate, pushed on with great vigour, till at last they became so involved in the garrison, that all possibility of retreat was cut off, and they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war; while the rest of the troops, being collected under the command of the invalided Arnold, remained in a state of inactivity, during the rest of the winter.

During the course of these transactions in Canada, the British army, and inhabitants in the blockaded town of Boston, were suffering the severest calamities for want of provisions and fuel. — For the American army was determined that the British should have no supplies from the country: and the British were resolved, that the inhabitants should be involved in the same calamity, by preventing them from leaving the town.

Several vessels, however, arrived with provisions from Britain; but were mostly taken at the mouth of the Bay, by American adventurers, which greatly increased the deplorable state of the troops in the town, as well as those stationed at Bunker's-hill; while the people of the several Colonies largely contributed towards the relief of their distressed Brethren in Boston, and repaired thither with great alacrity, being in full hopes that as soon as the

frost should set in severely, the ships would be froze up, when they expected they would be able to burn them, and recover the town. But in this they were disappointed, by the softness of the winter.

In the mean time, they found themselves greatly at a loss, for the articles of gun-powder and salt, with warlike stores, and camp implements.—But having a number of small privateers, now fitted out, they captured a British ordnance transport, which being unarmed, and parted from the fleet, was easily taken, and brought them a seasonable supply of arms, ammunition, and other camp equipage, which was blazed all over the country as a great acquisition, and the quantity of stores greatly exaggerated.

The time of enlistment of Washington's army being about to expire, they began to experience, that there were not such lawrels to be obtained, nor such pleasures to be enjoyed in a camp, as they had imagined; and therefore expressed a strong inclination to return home to their respective habitations.

But a Committee of Congress repairing to Boston, on this very alarming crisis, together with General Washington, found means to prevail upon them to enlist for another year, alledging, “That now was the only time they might ever have it in their power, bravely to extricate their country from impending bondage; as while the English were suffering for want of various necessities, they might, by a spirited exertion, either make them prisoners of war, or oblige them to evacuate the place.”

Accordingly, about the beginning of March 1776, they began to throw up works, and erect batteries for attacking the town; while General Howe, upon whom the chief command had devolved, on the departure of General Gage, in last October, now finding all hopes of forcing the American lines at an end, began to embark the troops, and proceeded with such expedition, that about the middle of March, the whole army was on board, as well as a vast number of the inhabitants, with their property, who were well affected to the British government.

General Washington, who hitherto had remained quiet, no sooner observed the rear of the army embark, than he marched his troops into the town, with great military state, and other ensigns of victory.—And being uncertain of General Howe's destination, he dispatched General Lee, with a detachment to secure the city of New York.

The British fleet having waited in the Bay more than a week, for a fair wind, at last so happily attained their desire, that they arrived safe at Halifax in a few days, while several ships of war were stationed at the mouth of the harbour, in order to prevent vessels arriving from Britain, from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The Congress at this time began to rule with a degree of severity and rigour, incident to their sudden elevation into power; while they thought proper totally to suppress the liberty of the press, “ Alledging, that through that channel, disaffec-

ted persons might sow endless sedition and animosity among the good people of America:" and, at last proceeded to such arbitrary measures, that the awful monsters, *tyranny* and *oppression*, began to stalk with stately strides all over the united colonies, and wrought such devastation, that liberty of thought only remained, as individuals durst neither speak nor write what they thought proper, unless in favours of their newly adopted system of liberty.—They had also resolved, that free trade should be opened to all nations; and the importation of gun-powder greatly encouraged, as the making of that article had been much retarded for want of salt-petre, and other materials.

As I had still continued my residence in the new settlements, I had no occasion to go into the militia; the inhabitants on the frontiers having been allotted to defend themselves against incursions of the Indians, who, at this time, had been very quiet and peaceable; by which, I was permitted to remain without molestation, and lived in tolerable felicity, particularly when at home, in the very agreeable family where I happened to reside.

The widow herself was a woman of extensive knowledge, good principles, and complacency; neither was her only son and daughter any thing her inferiors in these very amiable qualities: and although both possessed of very large fortunes, were affable and polite to an uncommon degree.—The son, although but a youth, in the flower of life, neither thought himself above, nor was ashamed of those family regulations and religious

duties, so much neglected by those who pretend to a higher degree of civilization.—And the daughter, although inferior to few in either mental or personal accomplishments, was not only courteous and graceful in her manner, but exceedingly attentive to the domestic concerns.

But while I was unacquainted with the courses of the country, I sometimes lost my way in the pathless woods, which brought me into great difficulty and trouble.—For one evening, being rather late in reaching an intending house, and a dark rainy night coming on, I entirely lost my way; and after riding from one place to another, I at last found myself involved in a rugged desert, where I alighted; and having scrambled up and down hills through thickets and swampy marshes, I became so fatigued and weary, that I would fain have tied my horse to a tree, and lain down till the morning, had I not known that he was excessively hungry, having rode him more than sixty miles that day, of known road, besides a great many after I had lost my way.

I therefore determined to make one more attempt; and after travelling a considerable way, I came in sight of a corn-field, which, upon examination, I found, belonged to the very house I was in quest of; and it being now about the middle of the night, I got in, and never before felt so comfortable, as after I had got into bed.

Having staid about a year in this new country, I happened to have occasion to return to the lower counties; and accordingly set out along with four

young men, who were also going down: and, the first day of our journey, we arrived at the Mohongola-River, near a place which was sometimes fordable, a little below where the ferry was kept.

My fellow-travellers, being either amind to save their money or time, in going round to the ferry, all agreed to ford the river, except myself, who strongly opposed it; as I happened to have a giddy young mare, which I knew was not accustomed to swimming:—but they being unalterably determined, I was either obliged to risque it along with them, or lose my company; and accordingly, I followed them.

The river being more than a quarter of a mile broad, with a pretty rapid current, was now much deeper than they had imagined; and before we got half way through, the foremost horses began to swim.

My mare no sooner began to lose bottom, than she reared on end, and plunged me several times over head and ears in the river; and, as I could swim tolerably well, I was under little apprehensions for my own safety; but felt a most severe vexation and regret for being so easily persuaded.

At last she found out the way of swimming; and, as I proceeded along, a little dog, belonging to one of the company, had very curiously planted itself on her back behind me: but observing that she had enough to do beside, I threw it off, when it immediately returned, and took possession of its former seat:—I then threw it a considerable distance

away, upon which it made to the side with all expedition.

But, on turning my eyes around me, I observed more pitiable, or rather ludicrous objects: for two of our number being but indifferently mounted, were carried a considerably way down the river; and one of their girths having broke, his saddle, with all his luggage, had gone from below him, while he sat upon the bare back, with fast hold of the mane, grinning in a most ghastly manner.

At length, with considerable difficulty, we all got safe ashore, and proceeded sullenly along, in the greatest chagrin and reserve, being heartily soaked with water, and our luggage and provisions in a great measure spoiled. But being as yet in a settled country, we got to a house, where I sat up all night, drying my cloaths, and other articles, in order to proceed more comfortably on the ensuing day.

The second night we encamped in the woods, between the Laurel-hills and Alliginay-mountains; where having turned out our horses, and kindled a fire, we lay down to sleep: but as I knew that my mare was exceedingly wild, I got up about the middle of the night, to try if I could hear her bell; and after searching the woods till clear day light, I found that she was entirely gone.—I then set out in quest of her anew; and having explored the woods till near mid-day, I found her almost ten miles back the way by which we had come.

Next night I was determined not to lose sight of her; and sat up all night for that purpose.—I did the same the night following, as I was obliged

to allow her to feed in the woods: but not being aware of the effects of the want of sleep, I became almost stupified; and during next day's journey, would be both sleeping and awake in the space of a few seconds, in spite of all endeavours to prevent it.

In this state of temporary insanity, I arrived at the Big-spring, in the house of my reverend friend, where I was put to bed, and slept full fourteen hours at a stretch.—There I remained for some-time, while I shall take a review of the disturbances which had occurred in the old settlements below.

As early as the beginning of the year 1775, a jealousy had commenced between the inhabitants of Virginia and their Governor.—On their preparations for war, he had found it a necessary precaution to remove the stores of the Provincial magazine on board the ships of war in the night,—which the enraged populous no sooner observed, than they assembled in great numbers, with arms, in order to recover the ammunition.

But the Governor being a firm adherent to the British government, viewed the infantile hostile gasconades of the Americans, with the most supercilious contempt, and consequently held them at Bay, which at last brought on a long series of intestine ruptures, in which the Governor found it necessary to remove his family on board the war-ships; and invited all friends to government, to repair to the Royal Standard, with liberty and arms to all slaves who should put themselves under his protection.

Having at last collected a number of inhabitants

and negroes, with the assistance of a party of regular troops, he took possession of Great-Bridge, where the Americans were entrenched within gun-shot, when a smart engagement ensued, in which the Governor, being overpowered by numbers, was obliged to retreat to the ships of war, where a great number of North-Britons, residents in Virginia, accompanied him; many of whom had left families, and large estates in the country.

But the inhabitants being determined to prevent them from supplies of provisions, they were obliged to make frequent excursions, by which a sort of plundering hostilities ensued; and the ships of war moving towards the town of NORTHFOLK, the Americans thought proper to set it on fire, and afterwards laid the blame upon the Governor and his adherents.

Much about the same time, the Governor of North Carolina, having taken to the ships of war, granted a commission to General M'Donald, to raise a body of friends to government in the two Carolinas: and, having collected a number of Highlanders, who had emigrated to these provinces, he assembled them at a place called Moore's Creek-bridge, where he was attacked by a party of militia, who took him prisoner, and totally dispersed his army.

Sir Peter Parker, and Earl Cornwallis, having been sent out early in the spring, with a squadron of ships, and a detachment of troops, came to Cape Fear, about the beginning of May 1776, where they found General Clinton, who had come from Boston; and after calling at New-York and Virgi-

nia, was there waiting for their arrival, and took the command.

The ships having got across the bar with great difficulty, the troops were landed upon Long-Island, while the fleet prepared to attack the Fort which had been lately erected upon Sullivan's Island, principally of cabbage-tree and turff, and strongly fortified with artillery.

Every thing being in readiness about the end of June, in the morning the fleet began the attack upon the Fort, when a terrible canonade ensued; during which, several frigates were sent round, to cut off the communication with the Continent: but the pilots, by mistake, run the *Acæon* a-ground, which was set on fire, rather than she should fall into the hands of the enemy.

In the mean time, a most tremendous canonade subsisted between the fleet and fort, while General Clinton remained on Long-Island with the troops; and General Lee was posted on the Continent, in order to protect the town of Charlestown.

Several of the ships being at last greatly damaged, and some of the captains killed, and others wounded, with the loss of a number of men, they retired towards the evening; and, in a few days, the troops were embarked, and the whole expedition abandoned.

The Congress, immediately on the repulse of the British troops, published the most exalted encomiums on their several commanders in Carolina, which had such an effect upon the people in general, that every patriotic countenance seemed to glow with joy and exultation: and it began to be strongly in-

finuated, that it never would be in the power of Great-Britain to subjugate the Thirteen United Colonies.

The Congress also, about this time, began to promulgate the absolute necessity of declaring themselves independent, as while they remained to be subjects of Great-Britain, no other power could be expected to lend them the smallest assistance.

This was, however, warmly opposed by mild and considerate persons, as they thought that it would not only make foes of their friends, but effectually arouse the unanimous indignation and resentment of the whole British empire, whose powerful resources would burst upon their heads with awful explosion.

But the clergy, taking hold of the clew, began to draw long and similar parallels between the behaviour of king Rehoboam, and that of the king of Great-Britain; asserting, "That he had already forsaken the wise council of the good old men, who had stood before his father, and had advised with those who had grown up with himself, whose counsel would, in all probability, terminate in the revolt of the most extensive part of his dominions. As he had not only refused to hearken unto their voice, but was grievously increasing their burden, and going to chastise them with the worst of all scorpions, an army of foreign mercenary troops, who would lead devastation, rapine, and murder through their then happy land."

In a word, almost every place of public worship now rung with politics, and inflammatory har-

rangues, while their ordinary subject was.—*What portion have we in David? and we have none inheritance in the son of Jesse: every man to YOUR TENTS, O ISRAEL: and now David see to thine own house.—So all Israel went to their tents.*

From this they infered that the king of Britain, had already forfeited all right to their allegiance; and significantly exclaimed unto the people, To YOUR TENTS, O ISRAEL. At the same time observing, “That although their lawful resistance might be attended with the effusion of much blood; yet there was great hope of those who should fall upon the high places of the field, bravely defending their religion and liberty.”

The track being thus beat, at last upon the 4th day of July 1776, the Congress sent forth the declaration of the Independency of the thirteen United States of North America; which struck a vast number of people with consternation and terror, as they now thought they saw the BRITISH LYON arousing from his sleep, and roaring terribly in their ears.

The Congress, who were never deficient in any thing that might tend to the enforcement of their resolves, had issued a long series of reasons, for this audacious proceeding: and, at the same time, recommended to each of the respective states, to call a convention, or new assembly, in order to frame a system of laws, for their temporary government.

But the choosing of these provincial assemblies, seemed to be attended with more difficulty than was at first imagined; for great part of the people

were of opinion, “ That the conventions ought to be composed of men, eminent both for learning and knowledge; and that even a few of those who had practised the old laws would be necessary in composing the new.”

This, however, was warmly opposed by a great division, who entertained a natural aversion to lawyers; asserting, “ That as the PEOPLE were the bulwark of liberty, and every other system, their laws ought to be compiled in a plain, intelligible stile; whereas lawyers, and those who had their heads full of sophistical learning, and metaphysical argument, would frame them in such a complex and intricate manner, as nobody could understand them, but themselves.” The conventions were at last settled, and a formal declaration of *Independency*, published in their Gazettes in the following words.

“ WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands, which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature, and of nature’s God intitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires, that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

“ We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of

happinefs.—That to fecure thefe rights, governments are intituted among men, deriving their juft powers from the confent of the governed; and whenever any form of government becomes deftructive to thefe ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolifh it, and to intitute a new government, laying its foundations on fuch principles, and organizing its powers in fuch form, as to them fhall feem moft likely to effect their fafety and happinefs.

“ Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long eftablifhed fhould not be changed for light and tranfient caufes; and accordingly, all experience hath fhewn, that mankind are more difpofed to fuffer, while evils are fufferable, than to right themfelves by abolifhing the forms to which they are accuftomed: but when a long train of abufes and ufurpations, purfuing invariably the fame object, evinces a defign to reduce them under abfolute defpotifm, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off fuch government, and to provide new guards for their future fecurity.—Such has been the patient fufferance of thefe colonies; and fuch is now the neceffity which conftains them to alter their former fyftems of government. [*The Declaration then proceeds to recount their feveral grievances, which have been fo often inferted, that they fhall, with permiffion, be left out, while it draws to a conclufion in the following words.*]

“ In every ftage of thefe oppreffions we have petitioned for redrefs, in the moft humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries.—A prince, whole character is

thus marked, by every act, which may define a *tyrant*, is unfit to be the ruler of a FREE PEOPLE.

“ Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren.—We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislators, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us: we have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here: we have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindness, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connection and correspondence:—They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity.—We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, *enemies in war; in peace, friends*.

“ We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies, are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES:—And that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connections between them and the State of Great-Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace,

contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things, which independent states may of right do.—And, for the support of this DECLARATION, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

Signed by order, and in behalf of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

Attest. CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*”



C H A P. VI.

Proceedings in Canada.—Governor Carleton reinforced, and defeats the Americans.—General Burgoyne recovers Forts St. John, Montreal, and Chamblee.—The British army leave Halifax, and go round to Sandy-hook.—Admiral Howe arrives at Staten-Island with a great army, and power to pardon the Americans.—The Congress reject the Conciliatory Bill.—General Washington refuses to open the dispatches sent him by the Commissioners.—The battle of Long-Island.—A Committee of Congress wait upon Lord Howe on Staten-Island; but are unsatisfied with the terms of peace.—The British army take possession of New-York, which is set on fire.—The battle of White Plains.—The reduction of Forts Washington and Lee.—Rhode-Island taken.—The British army over-run the Jerseys.—General Lee taken.—The American army greatly reduced.—The Congress flee to Baltimore, and proceed with great stability, while anarchy and discontent rage all over the Colonies.—General Washington surprises, and takes a body of Hessians at Trenton, which animates the Americans.—The engagement at Princeton.—The articles of Confederation between the Provinces of America.

WHILE affairs were thus going on in the other Colonies, the siege of Quebec had been in some degree re-assumed by the Americans,

who had also exerted various unsuccessful efforts to set the town on fire; till at last the Isis man of war and two frigates, arrived from England, with succours to the garrison, and a small detachment of land forces and marines, with which, and the troops in the fort, General Carleton marched out about the beginning of May 1776, and totally routed and dispersed the Provincials.

Several regiments from Britain and Ireland having arrived about the end of May, being part of the brave army, afterwards under the command of General Burgoyne; they rendezvoused at a place called Three-Rivers, about half way between Quebec and Montreal, where they were attacked by a party of Americans, under the command of one General Thomson; whom, however, they easily repulsed, while General Burgoyne and the rest of the army advanced along the Sorrel-river to St. John's, Montreal, and Chamblee, which were all abandoned on their approach; the American army retreating with great precipitation, till they got back to Crownpoint.

General Howe having remained at Halifax, in expectation of reinforcements, till near the middle of June, at last grew impatient, and came round with the army to Staten-Island, beside New-York, where he landed the troops about the beginning of July, and was soon after joined by a great number of friends to government, and even some of the principal inhabitants, who were displeased with the Declaration of Independence.

In the mean time, Admiral Lord Viscount Howe, who had come out from England with a formidable

force, had gone to Halifax; but finding that his brother the General was gone to Staten-Island with the army, he also put round, and arrived there about the middle of July.

A scheme of reconciliation with America having been previously agreed to by the parliament of Great-Britain, Admiral and General Howe's were appointed Commissioners for holding forth the offers of peace, mercy, and reconciliation to those turbulent and rebellious subjects; and accordingly, a little after their arrival at Staten-Island, they transmitted, by flags of truce, to the several old governors, copies of the conciliatory bill, attended by a long declaration of pardon to all who were disposed to accept of the offers of peace, and were willing to return to their former allegiance.

These, however, were immediately published by Congress, in all the American news-papers, with a long comment or resolve of their own, in which they contemptuously explained to the people the nature of the powers with which the commissioners were entrusted: Observing, "That it was a very laughable matter, to offer pardon to those who had never offended; but were only asserting their rights and privileges: and that it would be much more consistent, with the nature of the case, for Britain to ask pardon of them, for attempting to rob them of their liberties, and oppress them with unreasonable exactions."

Dispatches were then sent over to New-York, directed to GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq; which that gentleman positively refused to accept, as they

were not directed according to his character and dignity in the army of the United States.

The Congress highly applauded this dignity of conduct in a public resolution, in which they desired, that none of their commanders should receive any letters from the enemy, if not directed according to the respective characters which they sustained.

Adjutant General Paterfon was at length sent over with dispatches, directed to GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq; &c. &c. &c. and arrived at Head Quarters in the American camp, where he was received with the greatest politeness and military state, by General Washington, who again refused to open the dispatches, as they were not directed according as he had desired.

Colonel Paterfon observed, that although they were not directed in the express terms he had mentioned, yet the *et ceteras* implied every thing; and he hoped, “that a gentleman of his abilities and moderation, would not think of breaking off a treaty so pregnant with the welfare of America, and all British subjects, for such a trivial omission.”

To which General Washington replied, “that although the *et ceteras* might imply *every thing*, yet at the same time they might imply *any thing*. And however trifling a matter he might imagine the form of direction to be, yet he intended to hold it as a cardinal point, being the grand hinge upon which the opening of the treaty on his part should turn; the Congress being resolved to hear no proffers from Britain, unattended with the confirmation of Independence.”

Thus all hopes of a reconciliation being over, for some time; and the British commissioners, while they held forth the olive branch in one hand, at the same time brandished a flaming sword in the other; and were busily employed in making every preparation for reducing them by force of arms.

For, the first division of Hessians, and most part of the British troops being arrived, as well as the army from the south, under the command of General Clinton, on the 22d of August, the whole army passed over to Long-Island, and landed at Utretch and Gravesend, under cover of the war-ships; where, having staid a few days, putting themselves in a proper disposition, they moved towards the American army, then encamped at Brookline, under the command of General Putnam, who had detached his flying army to possess the heights of Guana, or hills, which lay between the two armies.

The British forces now extended the whole breadth of the Island, between Jamiaca-bay, and the East-river: the principal part of the army, composing the right wing, being commanded by General Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, and Earl Piercy. —The centre was composed of the Hessians, under the command of General Heister, at Flat-bush; and the left of British, commanded by General Grant. —Every thing being in readiness, on the evening of the 26th, as soon as it was dark, General Clinton at the head of the granadiers, light infantry, and light cavalry, with fourteen pieces of canon, crossed the hills at a place called New-Lots, and happily arrived at the great road between Jamiaca and

Bedford; where turning towards the former of these places, they seized upon a pass of the greatest importance, which, through negligence, or ignorance in the American Generals, had been left unguarded.

The pass being thus opened by Earl Percy, following at a distance with ten field pieces, the whole right wing got across the hills without noise or interruption, and arrived in the level country below Bedford, between Putnam's lines and his advanced army,—which, being now inclosed, were furiously attacked in front by the Hessians and General Grant's division, while, in attempting to retreat to their works, they were met and drove back, by General Clinton's division; by which they were kept tossing between two fires, for great part of the day, with incredible slaughter, till they at last took through a marsh, where a great many were drowned, and the rest escaped back to the lines, exposed to the fire of their pursuers.

Their whole loss in this engagement, was allowed to amount to near 3000 men, including killed, taken, and wounded.—Of this great number only about 1100 were prisoners, among whom were Generals Sullivan, Stirling, and Udell; besides three colonels, four lieutenant-colonels, three majors, eighteen captains, forty-three lieutenants, eleven ensigns, one adjutant, three surgeons; and something more than 1000 privates;—besides thirty-two pieces of canon, and a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition.—The loss of the British and Hessians, was considerably smaller than might have been expected, being in all under

380; in which, were only six officers killed, and fifteen wounded.

Next day the British army entrenched before the American lines, and seemed as if they intended a long and ceremonious siege; but General Washington having come over from New-York, ordered a retreat, which had been exceedingly well secured; in consequence of which, the whole American troops on Long-Island, crossed over to New-York, on the night of the 29th, with such amazing secrecy, that they were neither heard nor observed by the British troops, who lay in their front, till they were all out of danger.

Soon after the battle of Long-Island, General Sullivan was sent on parole to Congress, if possible to persuade that self-important assembly, to take the conciliatory bill into consideration; and his solicitations were attended with such success, that Dr. Frankline, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge, were appointed a Committee, and waited upon Lord Howe on Staten-Island: but finding that they were possessed of little other powers, than that of granting pardons, they returned without coming to any other agreement.

The taking of the island and city of New-York, therefore, became the next object in the view of the British forces; and, for that purpose, it was invested by a formidable fleet, while the troops crossed over from Long-Island, about the middle of September, a few miles above the city of New-York, and proceeded to take possession of the town.

The Americans, finding the city no longer tenable, retired to King's-Bridge, in great precipitation, leaving behind them their stores and artillery: and a brigade of British troops being quartered in the city, the rest encamped about the middle of the island, which, although more than fifteen miles long, is not above one broad.

General Howe had not been many days in possession of New-York, when some incendiaries who had staid behind, set it on fire at several places, about the middle of the night; and being mostly built of wood, and at that season of the year very dry, burned with such uncontrollable rapidity, that, in spite of the activity of the inhabitants, and British troops, about one third of the city was reduced to ashes.

General Howe, having left the city of New-York, under the command of Earl Percy, embarked with a large detachment of troops, and landed at Frogs-Neck, on the Connecticut side of the continent, where he was joined by General Knyphafen, and the second division of Hessians, with a regiment of Waldeckers, and some light horse, from Ireland, with which he proceeded to the White Plains, and attacked the American army, which he, at last, obliged to retreat, after a sort of skirmishing engagement, containing a long series of ceremonious manœuvres:—but, disdainful to take an advantage of their confusion and disorder, he let them retire with little molestation, while General Knyphafen, having taken possession of King's-Bridge, advanced towards Fort-Washington, upon the New-York side of the North River;

and, at this time, commanded by one colonel Magaw, with about 3000 men.

The attack upon the fort, was put in execution by four grand divisions. The first, on the North, was led on by General Knyphafen, at the head of two columns of Hessians and Waldeckers;—the second by Earl Cornwallis and General Matthew, with a detachment of light infantry and guards;—the third by Lieutenant-Colonel Stirling, and the 42d regiment; and the fourth by Earl Percy, with the corps which he commanded.—All these pushed on with great impetuosity and success: and the fort, being at last overpowered by numbers, was obliged to surrender prisoners of war.

Immediately after this acquisition, Earl Cornwallis crossed over to the Jerseys, in order to take Fort-Lee, upon the North-River, opposite to Fort-Washington, which was precipitantly abandoned on his approach, leaving behind, their artillery, ammunition, and stores.

While matters were thus successful in the Jerseys, General Clinton, with two brigades of British, and two of Hessian troops, with a squadron of war-ships, commanded by Sir Peter Parker, had gone and taken possession of Rhode-Island, which being also abandoned by the Provincials, was obtained without loss.

The British forces, having been thus repeatedly successful, since their landing on Staten-Island, towards the beginning of December, totally over-run the Jerseys; and, with little opposition, extended their cantonments from New-Brunswick, along the Delaware; having in possession the towns of Prince-

ton, Trenton, and Burlington, within twenty miles of Philadelphia; the American army every where flying before them, in the greatest confusion and dismay.

In this alarming situation of their affairs, General Lee, that favourite officer, having quartered at a house in too great security, and at some distance from the main body,—Colonel Harcourt, of the light dragoons, that enterprising corps, having been informed of his situation, went with a party of his troop; and, with surprizing address and activity, seized the centries without noise, and forcing the guard, carried off Lee prisoner, and escaped safe back, although several out-posts and patrols lay in the way.

General Lee, having been formerly in the British service, was immediately on his capture, confined as a deserter; and accordingly treated with all the severity which a state criminal of the first magnitude could have experienced, in the most alarming political conjuncture.

General Washington, with his ordinary acumen, endeavoured to evince, that as General Lee had resigned his half pay, in the British service, before the commencement of the war, he could not properly be accounted a deserter: and having no officer of equal rank prisoner, he proposed to give six field officers in exchange.

This proposal being haughtily rejected by the British commander, induced the Americans to make retaliation; and Colonel Campbell, who hitherto had received every indulgence from the people of Boston, was now thrown into a dungeon, and

treated with a degree of severity and rigour, equal to that which Lee experienced, while the Congress declared, that the prisoners in their hands should be, in every respect, answerable for any violence offered to his person.

The American army, which, at the opening of the campaign, was said to consist of near 26,000 men, was now greatly reduced by slaughter, captivity, and desertion; and the time of enlistment of great part of what remained, being expired, they and the militia returned home, without any ceremony, leaving their steady commander with only about 3000, very ineffective men, to oppose the successful progress of a numerous army of veteran troops.

Such, therefore, was their consternation and terror, that the whole fabric of American government began to totter from its lowest basis, while it was generally allowed, that a proper exertion of the British army, at this time, would have thrown it into absolute dissolution; for, they had all along been fully confident, that the British troops could never penetrate into the country, any farther than they were protected by the ships of war.

But their rapid progress through the Jerseys, with the taking of General Lee, had broken the enchantment, and filled all ranks of people with such dejection and discontent, that they positively refused to take Congress money as payment, imagining that a few days more would reduce it to total annihilation: while anarchy and confusion raged in the country, to such a degree, that the

people were upon the point of relinquishing their new leaders; and it was evident to every person there present, that had the British army only crossed the Delaware, which, it was thought, they might easily have done, and taken possession of Philadelphia, that the war would have been at an end.

The Congress having fled to Baltimore, on the approach of the British army, so near Philadelphia, there regulated the political helm, even in their greatest extremity, with such undaunted resolution and stability, as must be astonishing to all ages.—Finding that temporary armies were totally inadequate to the purpose, they RESOLVED, that a new army should be raised for during the war, to consist of 88 regiments; each man to receive twenty dollars bounty, and eight dollars *per* month. The officers to be appointed by Congress, and to rise in the army only by merit, without any purchase.

But the Americans, not being accustomed to restraint, or subordination, would not engage for the indefinite term of *during the war*: upon which the Congress thought proper to alter the time, to that of three years.

They also published a long address to the people of the several Colonies, setting forth the causes of the war, and inciting to perseverance; enforcing their arguments, by long enumerations of the barbarities of the British troops, as well as their Hessian auxiliaries.—But, notwithstanding the several remonstrances of Congress, and their assuring their constituents of foreign aid, the opposition and contents in Philadelphia, at last became so powerful, that General Washington was obliged to send

General Stirling, with a party of troops, to keep them in awe.

A considerable reinforcement of Pennsylvania and Virginia militia, having been at last, with difficulty collected, General Washington, with a detachment of about 2500 men, and twenty small field pieces, crossed the Delaware, a few miles above Trenton, on Christmas night, and having arrived at a cantonment of Hessians, commanded by Colonel Rall, securely encamped beside Trenton, he attacked them, with great judgment, about eight o'clock in the morning; and, after a short skirmish, in which Colonel Rall was mortally wounded, he carried off some more than 900 prisoners, who were, next day, marched in great triumph through the city of Philadelphia, and properly secured in the interior parts of the country.

This unexpected successful enterprize, immediately inspired the Americans with such courage and animation, that joy now shone in every patriotic countenance; and the friends of government, who lately began to peep out their horns, were obliged to shrink into silence and caution.

The bravery of General Washington was resounded as almost supernatural; and it began to be generally believed, that the British were neither so invincible nor formidable as they had imagined; and were therefore respectively ambitious to shine in the extirpation of their enemies, and the redemption of their country.

General Washington having, at last, collected a pretty respectable army, crossed over to the Jerseys, where he attacked the British troops stationed at

Princeton, under the command of colonel Mawhood; who, after a severe engagement, made good their retreat to Brunswick; while the whole British army found it necessary to go into winter quarters, and only occupied the posts of Amboy and Brunswick, in the Jerseys from whence they had a communication by water to New-York.

General Washington, having thus recovered great part of the Jerseys, strongly fortified his encampment at Middle-Broch, where he remained for great part of the winter.

In the mean time the Congress having now retrieved their affairs from impending ruin; and being fully confident of future success, they proceeded to ratify the articles of confederation, which they had drawn up about the beginning of October; and as these are the grand pillars upon which the present fabrication of American government now stands, under the supposition of independence, it is presumed that it will be very acceptable here to insert an original copy of these.

“ Articles of Confederation, and perpetual Union between the States of Newhampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, Pennsylvania, the counties of New-Castle, Kent, and Suffex on Dalaware-River, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia.

ARTICLE I. “ The thirteen States, above-mentioned, confederate themselves under the title of
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

II. " They contract, each in their own name, by the present constitution, a reciprocal treaty of alliance and friendship, for their common defence, for the maintenance of their liberties, and for their general and mutual advantage; obliging themselves to assist each other, against all violence that may threaten all, or any one of them; and to repel, in common, all the attacks that may be levelled against all or any one of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, commerce, or under any other pretext whatsoever.

III. " Each state reserves to themselves alone, the exclusive right of regulating their internal government, and of framing laws, in all matters, that are not included in the articles of the present confederation, and which cannot any way prejudice the same.

IV. " No state in particular shall either send or receive embassies, begin any negotiations, contract any engagements, form any alliances, conclude any treaties with any king, prince, or power whatsoever, without the consent of the united States, assembled in general Congress.—No person, invested with any post whatever, under the authority of the united States, or of any of them, whether he has appointments belonging to his employments, or whether it be a commission purely confidential, shall be allowed to accept any presents, gratuities, emoluments, or any offices or titles of any kind whatever, from any kings, princes, or foreign powers. And the general Assembly of the united States, nor any state

in particular, shall not confer any title of nobility.

V. “ Two, nor several of the said States, shall not have power to form alliances or confederations, nor conclude any private treaty among themselves, without the consent of the united States, assembled in general Congress; and without the aim and duration of that private convention be exactly specified in the consent.

VI. “ No State shall lay on any imposts, nor establish any duties whatever, the effect of which might alter, directly or indirectly, the clauses of the treaties to be concluded, hereafter, by the assembly of the united States, with any kings, princes, or powers whatsoever.

VII. “ There shall not be kept by any of the said States, in particular, any vessels or ships of war; above the number judged necessary, by the Assembly of the united States, for the defence of that State and its commerce; and there shall not be kept on foot, in time of peace, by any of the said States, any troops above the number determined by the Assembly of the united States, to guard the strong places or forts, necessary for the defence of that State; but each State shall always keep a well-disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and equipped;—and shall be careful to procure and keep in constant readiness, in the public magazines, a sufficient number of field pieces and tents, with a proper quantity of ammunition, and implements of war.

VIII. “ When any of the said States shall raise troops, for the common defence, all the officers

of the rank of colonel, and under, shall be appointed by the legislative body of the State, that shall have raised the troops, or in such manner as that State shall have judged proper to regulate the nominations; and, when any vacancy happens in these posts, they shall be filled up by the said State.

IX. " All the expences of war, and other disbursements that shall be made for the common defence, or the general weal; and that shall be ordered by the Assembly of the united States, shall be paid out of the funds of a common treasury.— That common treasury shall be formed, by the contribution of each of the aforesaid States, in proportion to the number of the inhabitants of every age, sex, or quality, except the Indians, who shall be exempt from taxes in each State: and, in order to fix the quota of the contribution, every three years, the inhabitants shall be numbered; in which enumeration, the number of white people shall be distinguished, and that enumeration shall be sent to the general Assembly of the united States.—The taxes appropriated to pay this quota, shall be laid, and levied in the extent of each state, by the authority and orders of its legislative body, within the time fixed by the Assembly of the united States.

X. " Each of the said States shall submit to the decisions of the Assembly of the united States, in all matters, or questions, reserved to that assembly by the present act of confederation.

XI. " No state shall engage in war, without the consent of the united States assembled in Congress,

except in case of actual invasion of some enemy, or from a certain knowledge of a resolution taken, by some Indian nation, to attack them; and in that case only in which the danger is too urgent to allow them time to consult the other States. No particular state shall give any commission to vessels, or other ships of war, nor any letters of marque or reprisal, till after a declaration of war made by the assembly of the united States; and even in that case, they shall be granted only against the kingdom or power, or against the subjects of the kingdom, or of the power against which war shall have been so declared; and shall conform, respecting these objects, to the regulations made by the assembly of the united States.

XII. " In order to watch over the general interest of the united States, and direct the general affairs, there shall be nominated every year, according to the form settled by the legislative body of each state, a certain number of delegates, who shall sit at Philadelphia, until the general assembly of the united States shall have ordered otherwise; and the first Monday in November of each year, shall be the æra fixed for their meeting.—Each of the above-mentioned States, shall preserve the right and power to recall, at any time whatever of the year, their delegates, or any one of them, and to send others in the room of them for the remainder of the year; and each of the said States shall maintain their delegates, during the time of the general assembly; and also during the time they shall be members of the council of state, of which mention shall be made hereafter.

XIII. " Each state shall have a vote for the decision of questions in the general Assembly.

XIV. " The general assembly of the united States, shall alone, and exclusively, have the right and power to decide, of peace and war, except in the case mentioned in Article XI.: to establish rules for judging in all cases the legitimacy of the prizes, taken by sea or land; and to determine the manner in which the prizes, taken by the sea or land forces, in the service of the united States, shall be divided or employed: to grant letters of marque, or reprisal, in time of peace: to appoint tribunals to take cognizance of piracies, and all other capital crimes committed on the high seas: to establish tribunals to receive appeals, and judge finally in all cases of prizes: to send and receive ambassadors: to negotiate and conclude treaties and alliances: to decide all differences actually subsisting, and that may arise hereafter, between two or several of the after-mentioned States, about limits, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatsoever: to coin money, and fix its value and standard: to fix the weights and measures, throughout the whole extent of the united States: to regulate commerce, and treat of all affairs with the Indians, who are not members of any of the States: to establish and regulate the posts from one State to another, in the whole extent of the united States; and to receive on the letters and packets, sent by post, the necessary tax to defray the expence of that establishment: to appoint the general officers of the land forces in the service of the united States: to give commissions to

the other officers of the said troops, who shall have been appointed by virtue of article the 8th: to appoint all officers of marine in the service of the united States: to frame all the ordinances necessary for the government and discipline of the said land and sea forces, and to direct their operations.

“ The general Assembly of the united States, shall be authorized to appoint a council of State, and such committees and civil officers, as they shall judge necessary, for guiding and dispatching the general affairs, under their authority, whilst they remain sitting; and after their separation, under the authority of the council of state.—They shall chuse for president, one of their members; and for secretary, the person they shall judge fit for that place: and they may adjourn at what time of the year, and to what place of the united States they shall think proper.—They shall have the right and power to determine and fix the sum, necessary to be raised, and the disbursements necessary to be made; to borrow money, and to create bills on the credit of the united States; to build and fit out fleets; to determine the number of troops to be raised, or kept in pay: and to require, of each of the aforesaid States, to compose the army by a contingent proportion to the number of its white inhabitants.

“ These requisitions of the general Assembly shall be binding; and in consequence the legislative body of each State, shall nominate the particular officers, levy the men, arm and equip them properly; and these officers and soldiers, thus armed

and equiped, shall proceed to the place, and within the time fixed by the general Assembly.

“ But if the general Assembly, from some particular circumstances, should think proper to exempt one or several of the States from raising troops, or demand of them less than their contingent, and should, on the contrary, judge it convenient that one, or several others, should raise more than their contingent; the number extraordinary demanded, shall be raised, provided with officers, armed and equipt in the same manner as the contingent, unless the legislative body of that, or of those of the state, to whom the requisition shall have been made, should deem it dangerous for themselves, to be drained of that number extraordinary; and in that case, they shall furnish no more than what they think compatible, with their safety; and the officers and soldiers, so raised and equiped, shall go to the place, and within the time fixed by the general Assembly.

“ The general Assembly shall never engage in any war, nor grant letters of marque, or reprisal, in time of peace; nor contract any treaties of alliance, or other conventions, except to make peace; nor coin money, nor regulate its value, or determine or affix the sums necessary to be raised, or the disbursements necessary to be made, for the defence or advantage of the united States, or of some of them, nor create bills, nor borrow money, on the credit of the united States, nor dispose of any sums of money, nor resolve on the number of ships of war to be built or purchased, or on the number of troops to be raised, for land or sea service, nor appoint a

commander in chief of the land or sea forces, but by the united consent of nine of the States; and no question on any point whatsoever except the adjourning from one day to another, shall be determined, but by a majority of the united States.—No delegate shall be chosen for more than three years out of six.—No person invested with any employment whatever, in the extent of the united States, and receiving by virtue of that employment, either by himself, or through the hands of any other for him, any salaries, wages, or emoluments whatever, shall be chosen a delegate.—The general Assembly, shall publish every month a journal of their sessions, except what shall relate to treaties, alliances, or military operations, when it shall appear to them that these matters ought to be kept secret.—The opinions, *pro* and *con*, of the delegates of each state, shall be entered in the Journals as often as any of the delegates of each State shall so demand; or even to any one of the delegates of each State, at his particular requisition, shall be given a copy of the Journal, except the parts above-mentioned, to be carried to the legislative body of his respective State.

XV. “ The council of State shall be composed of one delegate of each of the States, nominated annually by the other delegates of his respective State.—And the case where the electors might not be able to agree, that delegate shall be nominate by the general Assembly.—The council of State shall be authorized to receive and open all the letters, addressed to the united States, and answer them; but shall not contract any engagements binding

to the united States.—They shall correspond with the legislative bodies of each State, and with all persons employed under the authority of the united States, or of some of the particular legislative bodies. They shall address themselves to these legislative bodies, or the officers to whom each state shall have entrusted the executive power, for aid and assistance of every kind, as occasion shall require.—They shall give instructions to the generals, and direct the military operations, by land or by sea; but without making any alterations in the objects, or expeditions, determined by the general Assembly, unless a change of circumstances intervening, and coming to their knowledge, since the breaking up of the Assembly, should render a change of measures indispensibly necessary.—They shall be careful of the defence and preservation of the fortresses, or fortified ports.—They shall procure information of the situations and designs of the enemy.—They shall put in execution the measures and plans that shall have been resolved by the general Assembly, by virtue of the powers with which they are invested, by the present confederation.—They shall draw upon the treasurers for the sums, the destination of which, shall have been settled by the general Assembly, and for the payment of the contracts, which they may have made, by virtue of the powers that are granted to them.—They shall inspect and reprove, they shall even suspend all officers, civil or military, acting under the authority of the united States.—In the case of death, or suspension of any officer, whose nomination belongs to the general Assembly, they

may replace him by what person they think proper, until the next Assembly.—They may publish and disperse authentic accounts of the military operations.—They may convene the general Assembly for a nearer term than that to which they had adjourned, when they separated, if any important and unexpected event should require it, for the welfare or benefit of the united States, or of some of them.—They shall prepare the matters that are to be submitted to the inspection of the general Assembly, and lay before them, at the next sitting, all the letters or advices by them received, and shall render an exact account of all that they have done in the interim.—They shall take for their Secretary, a person fit for the employment, who, before he enters on his function, shall take an oath of secrecy and fidelity.—The presence of seven members of the council, will impower them to act. In case of the death of one of their members, the council shall give notice of it to the colleagues of the deceased, that they may chuse one of themselves to replace him in the council, until the holding of the next general meeting; and in case there should be one of his colleagues living, the same notice shall be given to him, that he may come and take his seat, until the next sitting.

XVI. “In case that Canada should be willing to accede to the present confederation, and come into all the measures of the united States, it shall be admitted into the union, and participate in all its benefits. But no other Colony shall be admitted, without the consent of nine of the States.

“ The above articles shall be proposed to the legislative bodies of all the united States, to be examined by them; and if they approve of them, they are desired to authorize their delegates to ratify them in the general Assembly: after which, all the articles, which constitute the present confederation, shall be inviolably observed, by all and every one of the united States; and the union shall be established for ever.

“ There shall not be made hereafter any alteration in these articles, nor in any of them, unless that the alterations be previously determined in the general Assembly, and confirmed afterwards by the legislative bodies of each of the United States.”

Resolved and signed in Congress, at Philadelphia, October 4th, 1776.



C H A P. VII.

I return to the back woods.—A story of an habitual swearer.—A scheme for forming a new settlement.—Troops raised in the frontier settlements.—I am taken into custody for refusing the oath of allegiance to Congress, and released by the Commandant of a regiment.—The Indians come to Pittsburgh, and settle a treaty of peace; but soon break out in war: in consequence of which, I am sent up the Alliginay-river; and afterwards sent to the Indian country; from whence I repair to Philadelphia.—Corps of Loyalists raised in New-York.—Stores destroyed at Danbury.—General Howe attempts to draw Washington out of his strong holds.—Skirmishes at Quibbleton.—The British army embarked and put to sea.—General Prescott taken.—The British appear off the Delaware; the consternation of the Americans on that account.—The British land at the head of Elk.—The Americans take post at Wilmington.—I leave Philadelphia for the British army, and falls in with a party of Americans, but escapes by a stratagem; and, after a series of adventures, I get within the British lines, where I am appointed to an office in the army.

MY business in the Lower Counties being finished, I set out about the beginning of winter, on my return to the New Settlements, along with

some people who were going out thither; and had not got far on our journey, when it fell such a storm of snow, as rendered it not only tedious, but very disagreeable travelling: for, when we came to take up our night's quarters, we had no better lodging than a bed among the snow, by securing ourselves from the intense cold the best way we could.

After travelling for some days, in this most uncomfortable manner, we got to a flat on the top of the Alliginay-mountains, where a man lived, who, on account of his excessive swearing, and haughty demeanor, was commonly denominated *Saucy Jack*: and had arrived at such proficiency in the modern gentlemanly style, that he could not speak one single sentence without interlarding it with terrifying oaths and imprecations.

But this accomplishment seemed altogether unnecessary, in the transacting a particular piece of business, which occurred a little before our arrival on the mount. For Jack, who had never set his eyes on a clergyman, since the delivery of his wife, being several months, was at last informed, that there was one in a company then in his house; but was so exceedingly strict, that he would not baptize his child, if he should happen to hear him utter one syllable of an oath.

The addressing of the minister, therefore, became a grievous task to Jack, who had never been accustomed to speak without swearing: and, for that purpose, he went to the end of the house, where he discharged his loquacity of repeated volleys of

oaths and execrations, with rapid explosion. And at last, imagining himself fully prepared to speak to the minister, he came in, and informed him, that he had a child to baptize, and hoped that he would do him that piece of service.

The clergyman, eyeing him with a serious attention, asked him to what profession of Christians he belonged, and whether he had ever, by his own desire, been admitted as a member of the visible church.—To which Jack replied, “That he belonged to no company of Christians, but believed there was a God, and hoped to be saved as well as another; and as for churches, there were none on the Alliginay-mountains.”

The minister then asked him, if ever he had learned the Catechisms, composed by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.—At which Jack lost all patience, and told him, that he had nothing by heart, but the mariner’s compass, which he had learned when an officer on board of his Majesty’s navy: and as for the Westminster divines, says Jack, “dem my eyes and limbs if ever I heard of such people before.” Upon which he was dismissed as unqualified; while he retired venting his breath in hideous curses, upon the “whimsical superstition of the bigotted clergyman.”

Having proceeded on our journey, we at last got safe to New-Virginia, where I fixed my residence at my former habitation, and prosecuted my former employment.

During the winter, a young clergyman had come out to preach in the new settlements, who also lodged at the widow’s house, with whom I

concerted a plan of forming a new settlement down the Ohio-river; and, for that purpose, called a meeting of the principal inhabitants, before whom we laid the following scheme, which we had drawn up: "That as soon as a respectable number of subscribers could be found to encourage the important undertaking, a number of commissioners, every way qualified for the purpose, with a land-surveyor, should be appointed to go down the Ohio-river, and, to the utmost of their capacity, search out a valuable tract of land, ten miles square, or more, well watered, of a healthful climate, and convenient for navigation."

When such a tract was found, the surveyor, with the assistance of the commissioners, was to lay it off in equal parts, each plantation to contain 500 acres, which were to be numbered and divided by lot, from the surveyor's draught on his return.—A place for a meeting-house was to be fixed in the centre, with a plantation appropriated for the minister who should go along with us.

The scheme was highly applauded, and received with universal approbation; and copies thereof were committed, with proper persons appointed as trustees, who were to admit none as subscribers, but respectable people, by which we expected to have, not only a peaceable, but an agreeable society.

At last, the minister was ordered by the presbytery, to North-Carolina; and a circumstance occurred, in a few weeks after, which put a period to the scheme, at least for that season.

The Congress had ordered a regiment to be raised in the frontiers of Pennsylvania, which was at last

completed, and posted at the Kittaning, upon the Alliginay-river, where the men were so ill used by their officers, that a great many deserted; and the rest were ordered, contrary to their expectations, down to Head Quarters, to join General Washington.

A regiment was next ordered to be raised in New Virginia; but the fate of the former rendered the enlisting almost impracticable, as the people in the back woods were very willing to fight the Indians, but did not choose to go so far from their families, to engage in the war with Britain.—The Congress, therefore, in order to remove their scruples, thought proper to pledge their *faith* and *honour*, that the regiment should not be taken east of the Alliginay-mountains; upon which the recruiting began to be more successful.

Some of my well-wishers imagining, that nothing would be more agreeable to me than an office in the army, had, by a very unacceptable and unlucky piece of friendship, got me appointed to a commission in this new regiment; which honour, I positively refused, not only on account of my attachment to government, but the aversion I had always entertained to the embarking in their cause.

The Congress, among other arbitrary proceedings, had enacted, “That all males, from fifteen to sixty years old, should take an oath of allegiance to the united states of America; and those who refused it, were to be treated as rebels, and enemies to their country.”—The patriots had also distinguished themselves by the name of WHIGGS, while they denominated the friends of government, TORRIES.

Every person who went upon a journey, was obliged to have a pass from the magistrate where they lived, specifying where they were going; otherwise they were liable to be taken up on suspicion, by any person whatever: and it was also necessary to have a certificate, that they had taken the oath of allegiance.

As I had been much in favour with the inhabitants of the new settlements, I had always found means to evade swearing allegiance; which, by the bye, was a very great indulgence, as many, for their adherence to government, had been treated in the most cruel and arbitrary manner,

Immediately upon my rejecting the commission in their army, I was presented with the TEST, which I also refused; for which I was taken into custody by a captain and a party, and carried to Pittsburgh, in order to undergo a further examination.

But during my confinement, I was honoured with a visit from the commandant of the said regiment, then stationed in Fort Pitt, who, after condoling my unhappy disaster, told me, "That if I would conceal my sentiments concerning politics, and agree to assume a necessary policy, he would not only put me in a way to effect my liberty in some time, but evade swearing allegiance to Congress," which was now going to be forced upon me; or fall a victim to the unlimited rage and arbitrary power of those despotic and enthusiastic patriots.

An offer of this kind from such an humane and amiable young officer, commanded from me the

warmest expressions of thanks and gratitude, as well as the observance of his directions. He accordingly took me to his quarters, on pretence of assisting him with the affairs of the regiment, when it was never doubted but I had taken the oaths, while I lived with my very agreeable protector, in a comfortable manner. And, in the mean time, in order to amuse me, and remove suspicion, I set about learning the military art, which I studied with such application and success, that in a short time I was master not only of the manual, but the several firings, evolutions, and manœuvres.

During my residence in this ambiguous situation, the kings, chiefs, and warriors, of several of the Indian nations, had assembled at Pittsburgh, on pretence of holding a treaty of peace and alliance with the commissioners, appointed by the people of Pennsylvania and Virginia.—And my friend, being one of the commissioners, I was admitted into the council-house, where the Indians being assembled in curious and significant dresses.—One of their principal orators arose, and, in the most flowery action, oratorical emphasis, and fluency of expression, harranged us with a speech, in the interpretation of which, I expected to hear a comprehensive and expressive style, with fine turned periods.—But, to my great disappointment, the interpreter informed us, that he had been telling us, in very plain and simple language,—“ That the warriors of the great King of England, had met them at Detroit, and offered to assist them in redeeming their country, and recovering their lands.

—But as they never took up the hatchet without an offence, they chose rather to settle a lasting peace, and bury the *Tomahawk*, never to be taken up again.”—The commissioners then thanked them for their peaceable intentions; and told them, That “the King of England was intending to make slaves of all people; and had sent over his warriors to that country to rob them of their lands, burn their towns, and ravish their women; and that they need not believe what fair words they should tell them, as it was customery for the people of that country always to act contrary to what they spoke.”

After several orations on both sides, matters were amicably settled, and the *Tomahawk* buried with great ceremony; while they delivered the commissioners a belt of *Waumpum*; and received, in return, large quantities of coarse blankets, gunpowder and lead.

The treaty being finished, the Indians entertained us with a dance in their own form: after which we joined with them in several diversions; such as foot-ball, running, and wrestling; and was not a little surprised, on finding them considerably weaker than they appear to be: while it is to be observed, that they can neither curse nor swear in their own language, nor express any indecent expletives.

At last they departed for their own country; but, on crossing the *Alliginay-River*, were fired upon by a parcel of lawless, hot-headed Virginians, who had lost relations in the Indian wars; which provoked them to such a degree, that they went

away threatening vengeance by a general attack.— And, in a few days after, we were informed that they had carried off prisoner, a trader who lived up the Alliginay-River, and killed a young man in the woods, with whom they had left a warrior's tropical rod, on which was engraved all the great actions he had ever performed, a war mellet, and a long letter, warning all the people, settled upon the branches of the Sasquehannah and Ohio-Rivers, to move off immediately, or expect to be all massacred.

The first thing to be done, was to bring down the trader's goods, which the Indians accidentally had left; but this appeared to be an expedition so pregnant with danger and difficulty, that no person was willing to undertake it, as they were liable to be shot from any side of the river, in penetrating up through the Indian country.

In this critical conjuncture, my friend was informed, by the several commanders in Fort-Pitt, that no person was more proper to be sent upon the enterprize, than the young Scots-man, who had lately been convicted of Toryism.

Knowing, that it would be in vain to refuse, I signified, that I was willing to go; and desired that they should appoint proper assistants to attend me.—Three but indifferent hands were accordingly selected for the purpose; with whom, I embarked at Pittsburgh, in a large canoe, which, with difficulty we wrought up against the stream, and at nights crept into a thicket, without kindling any fire for fear of the Indians.

In four days we had gone almost 100 miles, and were in sight of the intended place, where we were alarmed by the sight of a number of people whom we took to be Indians parading upon the banks of the river.

But, in order to learn their intentions, I stepped upon the head of the canoe; and, according to custom, saluted them with a discharge of my rifle, while the rest followed my example, one after another.

This was returned by a general salute; by which we understood that they were peaceably disposed, and might advance without any danger.—And, on our arrival, we found, to our great joy, that they were a party of Pennsylvania militia, who had dressed themselves as Indians, and taken possession of the place, in order to secure the goods.

Having staid all night, we embarked the goods early in the morning; and the river being then very full, we flew down the rapid current with such amazing celerity, that in nine hours we arrived at Pittsburgh all well, to the great joy of my friend, and other well-wishers.

Intelligence arriving at Fort-Pitt, that the Indians were coming to attack the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, a council of war was held; in which it was determined, that my friend should go and take post, with his regiment, at the very place where I lately had been for the goods; where, on our arrival, we laid off the plan of a picket-fort, which, in a short time, was finished, with houses for the troops. Upon which I was appointed commissary in the new garrison, as well as adjutant to

the regiment, and lived as comfortably as could be expected, passing the time with my friend in various amusements.

After having staid near three months in this solitary garrison, in the midst of peace and plenty, the regiment was ordered by Congress, contrary to every agreement and justice, to march for part of the Continental Army, then encamped near Philadelphia.

This, however, was a grievous and unexpected disposition of matters to me, who had only considered myself as embarked in the necessary defence of the frontier settlements; and imagined, that while I staid in that regiment, I should have no occasion to intermeddle in the war with Great-Britain.

On consulting with my friend, he told me, that it would be to no purpose to think of returning to my former habitation, unless I was disposed to be qualified to Congress; but if I would accompany him down to Philadelphia, where he understood I was well acquainted, I might there retire unnoticed from the regiment, as I had never made any agreement to serve in the army.

I thanked him for his extraordinary unmerited kindness; and every thing being ready, the whole regiment set out for head quarters, about the beginning of June 1777.; and, after a march of more than 400 miles, containing various occurrences, we arrived about the first of July at Philadelphia, when I quietly retired: And shall, in the mean time, take a view of the operations of both armies since they went into winter quarters.

During the course of the winter, several regiments of loyal Provincials had been raised in and about New-York, and placed under the command of Governor Tryon, who had been appointed to the rank of Major-General for that purpose.

Towards the end of March, Colonel Bird was sent out, with a detachment of 500 men, to destroy the stores at a place called Peek's-hill; but were anticipated by the Americans setting fire to, and abandoning the place.

A detachment of 2,000 men, commanded by Governor Tryon, Sir William Erskine, and General Agnew, was next set out to Danbury, in Connecticut, where they burnt and destroyed a vast quantity of stores and provisions: but, on their return, were met by a large body of militia and volunteers, commanded by the Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Sullivan, who attempted to cut off their retreat; but General Wooster being killed, with a great many of his officers and men, the militia were repulsed on all sides, while the British effectuated their retreat, with great difficulty, and considerable loss on both sides.

The spring being now come, General Howe advanced towards the lines of the American army, in hopes of being able to draw them out of their strong holds: but they, being aware of his intention, thought proper to remain secure, till he, in appearance, began to retreat, by passing the baggage over to Staten Island, and withdrawing the army.

General Washington, at this time, did not seem to possess all his ordinary caution; for he sallied out, after the British army, as far as Quibbleton;

where his troops were attacked by Earl Cornwallis, and so roughly handled, that he found it necessary to escape back to his strong holds the best way he could.

In the mean time, General Howe began to embark a large body of troops, consisting of 36 British and Hessian regiments, the Queen's rangers, and a regiment of light horse, with field-pieces, waggons, and provisions, necessary for a long and important campaign; while, in order to impose upon the Americans, he seemed as if he was going up the North-river, where, by the bye, politicians have since alledged that he ought to have gone: but finding his scheme attended with little success, he set sail from Sandy-hook, with a large fleet of transports, about the middle of July, which greatly alarmed and embarrassed the Americans; as they never had been able to learn, whether his destination was to the northern or southern Colonies.

Much about this time, the American colonel Barton, had gone over with a party to Rhode-Island, and, with surprizing activity and address, had brought off General Prescott, who there commanded in chief, with his aid-de-camp, prisoners: but the great joy, on account of this acquisition, was soon extinguished by the rapid progress of General Burgoyne, and the loss of the garrison of Ticonderago, and some other material posts.

The American army, at this time, seemed as if they intended to dance to the music of General Howe's expedition; for they marched from Philadelphia to Billings-port, and from thence to Trenton, all in the space of two days; till at last the British

fleet made its appearance off the Capes of the Delaware, which spread a general panic all over that part of the country.

The preservation of Philadelphia, therefore, became the first object in view; and, for that purpose, a large body of troops were called down to Chester, and every other preparation made for a bold and animated resistance.

The river Delaware, at this time, was strongly barricaded by a formidable bomb-proof fort upon Mud-island, two rows of chevaux de frizes, or large frames of wood sunk in the river, having strong beams, partly erected and headed with iron; besides a great chain across, with a number of galleys and other armed vessels.

All the way up the river, were alarm guns placed at such distances, as the appearance of an enemy at the Capes, could be reported in Philadelphia, as soon as the sound could penetrate through the air.

The British fleet at last disappeared from the Capes of the Delaware; which so embarrassed and confused the Americans, that they scarcely knew whether to turn to the right or to the left.

They generally were of opinion, that appearing off the Delaware was only amusing them with false manoeuvres, while their real destination was to some of the northern Colonies, in order to co-operate with General Burgoyne.—In consequence of which conjecture, the troops assembled at Chester, were marched up to Trenton, in order to hold themselves in readiness for moving to the North.

But their uncertainty was in a few weeks effectually removed, by the alarming intelligence of the

British fleet having gone up the Chesapeak-Bay, and landed a powerful and numerous army near the head of the Elk-river.—Upon which, General Washington immediately reinforced all his army, then consisting of about 8,000 regular troops, several corps of artillery, and about 600 light cavalry, tolerably well equipt; which, being all assembled at Head Quarters, were there harangued with fluent and animated orations, giving them to know, “ that Dr. Franklin, and their other Plenipotentiaries at the courts of Europe, had received indisputable assurances of foreign aid; and that one more spirited exertion, would not only fix their Independence, as fate itself, but establish the rising glory of America, in such a manner, as she would soon be able to give laws to the world.”

Animated with these favourable prospects, and pleasing expectations, the whole American army marched in great military state, through the city of Philadelphia, on the 23d day of August 1777, and took post a little above Wilmington, near the mouth of the river Brandy-wine, where they were soon reinforced by near 8,000 militia, and other troops, who turned out with great spirit and alacrity, in order to repel their English invaders.

Politicians at this time were greatly embarrassed, in ascertaining the propriety of the British army's being huddled on board of ships: and, after tossing at sea seven weeks, of the flower of the season, to go round to the Chesapeak, when they might almost as easily have landed in the Delaware. And that the troops might have marched immediately from New-York to Philadelphia, as well as from

Elk, the difference of the distance being but very trifling, and almost as easy to cross the Dalaware, as the Brandy-wine.

Having retired from the army, a little after our arrival from the back settlements, I now found myself involved in a most disagreeable dilemma; for, it was impossible for me to remain any longer in Philadelphia, at this distracting period, without being dragged out in the militia, or otherwise called to an account.

However, as I had procured a plantation in New-Virginia, which I was sorry to leave, I would willingly have returned thither; had it been practicable, without being exposed to the fury of my former persecutors.

But having all my connections in Britain, from whom I had heard nothing for some years; neither had they heard from me in that time, I determined, at all events, to endeavour to retire within the British lines, rather than be forced into a scheme, apparently pregnant with tyranny and confusion, and which my sentiments abhorred. Having therefore bestowed every thing valuable and portable about my person, I set out, intending to proceed as privately as possible, being liable to be taken up by every person I met, for want of a pass, which could not be procured, without having previously taken the Test.

When I had gone down as far as a place called, Miln-Creek Hundred, I unexpectedly and unluckily fell in with a brigade of Virginia troops; and finding it in vain to attempt to draw back, I confidently went into their encampment, and asked for a

person, who I knew was in one of these regiments.

But here I found myself most inextricably entangled, there being no possibility of getting without their lines, without being more strictly examined.—And as a desperate attempt now became absolutely necessary, I wrote an unlimited pass, permitting me to go to a certain man's house, without specifying any place, with which I could have gone all over the country: and waiting upon the general of the detachment, who as yet knew nothing of my situation, I found means to insinuate myself so far into his favour, that he signed my pass, without observing its defect.

Thus armed, I passed their guards, piquets, and patroles; and, with a trembling heart, steered my course towards the British army, then lying at the head of Elk: and, by next morning, I got into the town of New-Ark, which was entirely depopulated, the inhabitants of it, and the country below, having all fled their plantations on the approach of the British army.

When I had got a little past the town of New-Ark, I was met by a party of militia, who stopped me, and demanded whither I was going by myself, as the English were then lying in the woods, only about two miles below.

I produced my pass, and told them that I was going upon secret business of great importance, in which if they offered to obstruct me, they might, in all probability, involve themselves in more difficulties than they were aware of.

They then let me pass on; and as soon as they were fairly out of sight, I turned aside into the pathless woods, expecting to find the British army at the place where I was told they were encamped: —But, to my great disappointment, I found that I had been misinformed; and, after travelling more than four miles, through that solitary desert, I came up with a path, where I observed some fresh tracks, which I followed, in full hopes that it was a party of British soldiers returning to their camp.

In this, however, I was soon undeceived, by observing a wooden canteen which they had dropped, stamped with UNITED STATES, which effectually informed me, that it was an American scout; to avoid which, I crept into a barn, which was hard by, and hid myself among the hay; where I had not been three minutes, when I recollected, that I had better be found upon the high-way, than in this suspicious posture: and therefore proceeded on the path, till it took across a broad road, where I did not think proper to follow the party any farther, but took down the high way; and had not gone above four miles, when I came in sight of the town of ELK, which seemed all in a flame, the British army having left it that forenoon, after setting the store-houses and ships on fire.

When I had got within a little of the town, I was, to my great astonishment, met by six American dragoons, and an officer, who rode up, and exclaimed with great fury, that I was going to the English.

I attempted to convince them of the contrary; and told them, that I had only lost my way, in an unknown and desolate country; but all in vain.—They told me, that notwithstanding of my pass, and other specious pretences, my being found so near the British lines, would clearly justify them in carrying me back: and accordingly they ordered me to follow them to head-quarters, where I would certainly have lost my life.

But as we passed through a thick wood, I gave them the slip, and escaped to an opening on the other side the hill, where I was again met by a party of American foot, who luckily gave me but little interruption: so that I got into the town of Elk, a little after sun set, where I found no inhabitants, but one woman, who could give me nothing to eat.—I therefore determined to prosecute my journey that night, notwithstanding a most terrible thunder-gust, which came up, and seemed to threaten that part of the country with immediate destruction.—And, it being now dark, I found my way along the tracks of the waggons, by the help of one flash of lightning after another; but had not gone two miles, when the rain fell in such streams, that I was obliged to take shelter in a hut, that had been built by foldiers, of tree-tops; which, indeed, preserved me from the force, but not the effects of the rain.

Being now worn out with toil, hunger, and perspiration, having travelled all day in a burning hot climate, without being able to procure the smallest subsistence, and my mind tore upon the rack of anxiety, I lay down, and eagerly wished

for even a crust of the coarsest bread, fearing I could not hold out till to-morrow.

But as I was feeling for something to put below my head, I happened to lay my hand on a piece of a loaf, which, by some unaccountable accident, had been left by my predecessors there: and, having eat it with the greatest thankfulness and wonder, and being somewhat refreshed, I lay down, intending, as soon as the rain was over, to prosecute my journey: but falling asleep, I lay till to-morrow's sun was up, which observing, and being already dressed, I arose in a twinkling, and proceeded on my journey, not without great apprehensions of coming up with the party of Americans, I had seen the night before.

I had not gone above a mile, when, to my inexpressible joy, I came up to the 71st regiment of British troops, on the 7th day of September; and was immediately conducted to the Colonel's quarters, who received me with the greatest civility; and, after breakfasting with him, and some more of his officers, I was accompanied to head quarters, then at a place called Aitken's-Tavern, where I found General Howe, with a number of his principal officers, seated at breakfast.—Upon my name being there mentioned, one of the gentlemen jumped up from the table, and asked, if I was such a man's son. I answered in the affirmative; and that instant recollected him to be the gallant colonel Abercromby, who then commanded one of the divisions of light infantry.

After reciprocal expressions of joy, I was invited to his quarters; where I spent the forenoon in a

most agreeable manner; and, by his interest, was that day appointed to an office in the army, which brought me five shillings sterling a-day, a horse to ride, with provisions for myself and him.

I now began to deem myself a gentleman of some consequence; and found all my experimental philosophy absolutely necessary, in preventing me from being infected with the arrogance, and fopish self-conceit, peculiar to young sparks on their first admission into the British army: and, being instructed in the articles of my duty, I began to look back, with a pleasing reflection on the impending destruction I had so narrowly escaped on the preceding day.

C H A P. VIII.

We march on our route to Philadelphia.—A description of the battle of Brandy-Wine, with the situation of the army after the engagement.—General Gray surprizes and defeats a brigade of Americans.—We cross the Schuylkill-River, and take possession of Philadelphia.—The British fleet comes round to New-Castle.—The Delaware frigate taken.—A detachment sent over to Billing's-Port.—A description of the battle of Germane-Town.—I am sent upon duty with a general officer, who attempts to stab me; but is prevented by a lucky resistance, for which I am committed to the Provost-Marshal's guard.—The situation of the prisoners described.—I am brought before a general-court Martial, and after a curious trial, am honourably acquitted.—The attacks upon Forts-Mifflin and Red-Bank, in which the Augusta war-ship is burned, and the Hessians repulsed.—Batteries erected upon Providence-Island.—Forts-Mifflin and Red-Bank are reduced.—The British army view the Americans at White-Pine Marsh, and then return to Philadelphia for the winter.

NEXT day the whole British army marched on their route to Philadelphia; and, being informed, that the Americans had strongly fortified the passes near Wilmington, we proceeded

by the way of New-Ark, intending to cross the river Brandy-wine, as high as Chaud's-ford; and, in two days, got to a place, called the Square-Tavern, within a few miles of the River, where the Americans, with surprizing expedition, had come, and strongly fortified the Fords, at which we intended to cross; and, as we understood, were determined to risque a general battle on the ensuing day.

General Howe having made every disposition for the purpose, on the morning of the 11th of September 1777, that ever memorable day, the whole British army, consisting of about 15,000 veteran troops, marched out in battle order, by two grand divisions, the one led on by General Knyphafen, and the other by Earl Cornwallis.

While we advanced in this manner, a party of the American light infantry, who lay concealed in a thicket before us, fired a full volley in our faces; upon which they sprung up, and fled back to their main body.

Blood being now shed, and several acquaintances having fallen, the army moved on in the most determinate solemnity; while heroic courage seemed to glow in almost every countenance.

At length, about ten o'clock, we came in sight of the Continental Army, which had come across the river, and taken possession of the plains of Brandy-wine, when a most tremendous cannonade commenced; during which, our army having advanced nearer, the columns formed up, and the battle began with great velocity on both sides, which exhibited a scene terrible beyond all conception.

Our eyes were presented with little else than fire and smoke; with numbers of brave men falling in the lines, and groaning out their last. And our ears were stunned with a most awful and tremendous noise of great guns, musketry, and myriads of bullets, which whistled past our ears, with a shrill or hollow grumbling noise; while every heroic spirit was now screwed up to the highest pitch, and seized with a fearless, but reflective sort of delirium: and those, whose hearts failed them, fell down as dead, being struck motionless with terror and astonishment.

The balance of power seeming to hang in equilibrio, we gave them a general charge; upon which they turned their backs, and fled with great celerity across the river Brandy-wine, where they took possession of the bulwarks which they had erected, in order to dispute our passage across; in which they resisted with great intrepidity, a most furious attack of cannonading and bombarding, till sunset, when we found it necessary to storm: and accordingly, we rushed across the river, exposed to their grape-shot, which sent numbers floating down the stream; and mounting their breast-works, drove them out of their batteries, while we wheeled about their own artillery, and fired after them as they fled through the woods.

In the mean time, Earl Cornwallis had gone round by the forks of the river, with an intention to flank the Americans; but General Washington being informed of his movement, had sent General Sullivan, with a large detachment, to oppose him, when a hot engagement commenced, in which the

Americans were repeatedly repulsed, and at last totally routed, much about the same time that General Knyphafen had carried Chaud's-ford.

The British army being, by this time, very much fatigued, were in no condition for pursuing that night; neither did the commander in chief, think proper to put them to that trouble next day, for they very peaceably encamped at a place called Concord, where they remained for some days.

The 71st regiment having taken possession of Wilmington, all the sick and wounded, with the American prisoners, were sent thither, under a strong guard: on which expedition I was sent; and, after having secured the prisoners, and bestowed the sick and wounded in houses, appointed for hospitals, we returned back to the main army, which marched towards the Lancaster road, intending to attack the Americans, but were prevented by a most incessant and heavy rain, which poured upon us the whole day and night, with unremitting fury.

General Howe, on his landing at Elk, expected that a great number of the inhabitants of the country adjacent, would have repaired to the Royal Standard; and, for their encouragement, had issued a long Proclamation, inviting all his Majesty's well-affected subjects, to remain at home upon their plantations, assuring them of the most steady protection, and the highest price for whatever they should furnish to the army; while, at the same time, he issued the strictest orders, that no person belonging to the army, should take the smallest article from any of the plantations, even although

they were abandoned by their owners, under the pain of immediate death.

But these favourable prospects, towards the Americans, were not attended with the expected success; for, few thought proper to put themselves under his protection: and the inhabitants had all fled their plantations, for about twenty miles, before the British army.

The horses on their landing were quite benumbed, and unfit for service, by being so long a ship-board in the heat of summer; and great numbers died on the march, which went on so slow, by having more than 7000 waggons in a line, drawn by horses which were frequently giving way, that although we were busied from day-light in the morning, till nine or ten o'clock at night, we could seldom make more than five or six miles a-day.

As I was altogether unprovided with necessaries for a campaign, I lived in the most uncomfortable manner: and had I not been of a pretty strong constitution, I could not have bore the irregularities and inconveniences to which I was exposed.—Our provisions consisted only of salt beef, or pork, with old hard biscuit, served out by the pound once every two days, or as it was convenient; being deprived of all the rest of the articles of our rations, for want of waggons to carry them along upon the rout.

The rain having prevented us from attacking the Americans, at the Lancaster road, we endeavoured, by several ineffectual manœuvres, to bring them to action; and then moved on to the Valley-Forge.

But understanding that General Wayne, with

an American brigade, was skulking in our rear, intending, if possible, to capture our baggage, General Gray was sent out, with a chosen detachment; and having taken all the flints out of their firelocks, they quietly rushed upon the Americans, in the dead of the night, with fixed bayonets, and mortally stabbed great numbers as they lay in their huts.

The rest, being now alarmed, sprung up in the greatest terror and confusion; and while they reeled too and fro in the dark, many were run through the heart, and fell down again in a much longer sleep.—At last General Wayne, and a great many more, found means to make their escape, after much slaughter and merciless carnage, in which about 300 were killed, and a number taken and wounded.

General Gray being returned, and having only lost a captain and three privates, with about the same number wounded, we moved on; and, in two days, got to the Valley-Forge, upon the banks of the Schuylkill-river, where we found several thousand barrels of fine flour, of which, by an extraordinary indulgence, the soldiers were permitted to take but a little, although the rest was either burned, or otherwise destroyed.

The crossing of the Schuylkill now became the next thing to be considered, and seemed to be attended with apparent difficulty, as the Americans had taken possession of, and strongly fortified the only ford, at which there was any probability of our crossing.—But we luckily found out another, where we got over; and coming down upon the

Americans, surprized them in their camp on the other side, from whence they fled, and left their baggage, and kettles boiling on the fires, which was a seasonable repast to our weary troops, after the fatigues of the day.

The Congress, immediately after the battle of Brandy-wine, found that Philadelphia would be little longer tenable; and therefore RESOLVED, that it should be abandoned, and reduced to ashes, rather than it should fall into the hands of the enemy.—But this was so spiritedly opposed by the majority of the inhabitants, as rendered it altogether impracticable; upon which, the Congress ordered all their good friends to leave the city: and having sent a number of people, who were well affected to the British government, prisoners to the back settlements of Virginia, they fled by the way of Lancaster to York-Town, which became their chief place of residence for that winter.

The British army, having destroyed the heavy artillery, found in the American batteries, moved towards Germane-Town, where General Howe fixed his head quarters, while Earl Cornwallis, with part of the army marched into Philadelphia, on the 26th day of September, without opposition; where they were received with acclamations of joy, by those who had long wished for their arrival.

Admiral Howe, on landing the troops at Elk, had gone out with the fleet; and, on being informed that Philadelphia was in possession of the troops, came up to Reedy-Island and New-Castle; but could come little further for the chevaux-de-frizes and a chain, which were across the river.

A few days after the British troops had been in possession of Philadelphia,—the DELAWARE, a fine new frigate of 32 guns, came up with an intention to play upon the town; but the artillery which were fixed below the city, attacked her with such fury and success, that she was in a short time brought to and taken, having previously run aground.—Colonel Stirling was then sent over the river Delaware, with a detachment of troops, to take possession of Billings-Port, which was then kept by a few militia, who, on his approach, set fire to, and abandoned the fort; and after, with difficulty, he had collected a quantity of forage and cattle at Billings-Port, he was next day ordered over to Chester, to assist in escorting up a quantity of provisions from the fleet.

It was said, that the commander in chief, was advised, by some of his principal officers, to allow Colonel Stirling, when at Billings-Port, to take possession of Red-Bank, opposite to Fort-Mifflin; and, at that time, only defended by about 30 militia.—But it appeared, that our brave Generalissimo was too wise to admit of council; and therefore declined it, while the Americans, observing it to be a very material post, fortified it in such a manner, that it was the great cause of keeping our fleet below, for more than six weeks after; which had almost obliged us to leave Philadelphia for want of provisions.

The division that I belonged to, had been stationed at Germane-Town, under the direction of the Commander in Chief, where we remained, without molestation, till the morning of the 4th of

October, when we were aroused from our sleep, by the hideous and terrifying noise of the rage of war: and having sprung up, in the greatest astonishment, we beheld such a scene as almost made us imagine at first, that all nature was going into ruin.

Generals, aid-de-camps, and other officers, were raging about with fury, and disorder in their faces, mustering up their respective departments with dreadful oaths, and terrifying imprecations, while multitudes of drums were bellowing TO ARMS, with redoubled force; and the battle roared in our ears, not far distant, and seemed to approach us with rapid progress.

We soon, however, were convinced that it was no very trifling affair, that so much alarmed us; for General Washington, with about 12,000 men, had, about day break, attacked and drove in our out-posts and infantry; and was then making terrible havock in our camp.

Our division, consisting of about 2,500 men, being turned out, were found to be inadequate to the purpose; for they proceeded to advance into the town of Germane-town, and, as they said, intended to dine in Philadelphia that day.

But in this they were disappointed: for, the gallant Colonel Musgrave, with the 40th regiment, taking possession of a stone church, upon which their principal column advanced, so effectually retarded their progress, that we had time to be reinforced from Philadelphia, being only four miles distant, when the line of battle was formed: and, after a most terrible and furious engagement, a.

bout ten o'clock they were forced to leave us masters of the field, and fled with their waggons and artillery faster, than we, with nothing but our arms, could pursue.

In this hard-fought battle, the loss of the British, besides General Agnew and Colonel Bird, amounted to something more than that at Brandy-Wine, being about 530, including killed, wounded, and taken.—The loss of the Americans, besides General Nash, was allowed to be near 300 killed, 600 wounded, and about 400 taken prisoners.—Among the captives, was a most amiable youth, of uncommon accomplishments, of whom I had clear intelligence of the state of the American army; and whose untimely fate, I shall ever remember with extreme regret: for, having unfortunately gone from the British army, on their first landing at Boston, before the commencement of hostilities, he had been advanced to a lieutenancy in the American army; but being unhappily taken, he was next day taken out, while he shed a torrent of tears, and hanged as a deserter, although he strenuously asserted to the last, that he had given himself up.

The army having pursued the Americans, for some miles, to little purpose, they returned to their quarters, where I observed daily proofs of the improper exercise of arbitrary power, invested in the officers of the army: and at last it extended to me in such a manner, as not only drove me from that stage of honour; but almost deprived me of my life.

For, one day being sent upon a foraging party,

under the command of one General P—ne, a most cruel, imperious, and overbearing tyrant, who had been lately elevated to a station above his capacity, and had secretly determined my destruction, having rather too successfully rectified some of his mistakes.—But, as we enjoyed a halt on our way home, beside a very fine house, I went in about the time I expected we should march, to see if any of the men under my command were lurking there.

Having sent them all out of the first flat, I went up stairs to the second, where I had not been three minutes, when I observed the before-mentioned *bravo*, advancing up-stairs, with eyes like flaming torches, and a voice like that of a trumpet, bawling, *ANY MORE THIEVES HERE; ANY MORE THIEVES HERE.*—Upon which, I modestly answered, that I believed they were all gone; and had scarcely done speaking, when, in a most furious manner, he seized me by the throat.

Not relishing such treatment, I disengaged myself in a trice; and told him, that I could walk down stairs without his assistance.—He, not being accustomed to such freedoms from his inferiors, here intended effectually to prevent my further insolence; and, twirling a *KNIFE* from his side, to my great consternation and surprise, aimed a most deadly stab at my breast.

The point had just reached my vest, when I had hold of his assassinating wrist, with both my hands, and happily prevented my immediate death.—And being now exasperated to the last degree, as I held

him in this manner, I pushed him down stairs before me, while he roared, cursed, and blasphemed, like a frantic bedlamite, till such time as I had him clear out of the house, where the presence of the party, prevented his further attempts.

But here my troubles were only beginning; for, I had been seen dragging a general officer out of the house, and not having received the King's commission, was immediately sent prisoner to the Provost-Marshal's guard, and there committed for the capital and deadly crimes of *mutiny and violence to an officer on duty*, where I was deposited among a parcel of miserable criminals, who seemed to anticipate their deaths by their dejection.

I also soon caught the infection; and being totally confounded by my unhappy and sudden transition, I spent the first night in the keenest vexation and anguish; and had almost fallen into a state of delirium, when I came to recollect, that my life entirely depended upon the critical tenure of my unprincipled accuser's oath; who, I well knew, was fully capable of swearing to the grossest falsehoods his rancour and malice could suggest.

While I remained in this dismal habitation, I was daily convinced of the alarming nature of my situation, by the numbers of poor creatures, I frequently saw taken from beside me, and executed for crimes much more trivial than mine was supposed to be.—And one day, observing a soldier belonging to the 10th regiment, lying in irons beside me, I asked him, Wherefore; and how long he had been in that situation. Upon which he readily began the following relation.

“ That the day before the battle of Brandywine, as he was passing a house, deserted by its inhabitants, he happened to take up a piece of an old shirt to mend his trousers, which an aid-de-camp observing in his hand, ordered the colonel of his regiment to have him confined. But he, being a man of experience and candour, thought it an offence of such a frivolous nature, that he took no further notice of it, till the same aid-de-camp returning some time after, and finding him in his ranks, ordered him to be taken before the Commander in Chief, who procured his condemnation, and ordered him to be hanged immediately, in consequence of a promise he had made, “ That the first who should be found taking the smallest article, belonging to the inhabitants, should be forthwith executed in a summary manner.”

Being then delivered over to the Provost-Marshal, or *Executioner-General*, he was met on his way to the place of execution, by the very humane and magnanimous Colonel Maitland, whose sympathy induced him to enquire into the particulars of his crime; while observing him to be a North Britain, asked the place of his nativity: and no sooner understood, that he was a son of one of his brother, the Earl of Lauderdale's tenants, than he begged of the Provost-Marshal to postpone his execution, till he should return from supplicating the Commander in Chief in his behalf.—But it appeared, that notwithstanding that gentleman's interest with the Commander in Chief, he was so very observant of his promise, that he would only

grant a reprieve for a few days, which, by the interposition of the battle of Brandy-wine, and other public occurrences, had been now prolonged to more than three weeks, from which he imagined, that he was totally pardoned."

This poor creature had scarcely finished the tragical narration, and made some moral reflections on the servitude and uncertainty of a military life, when the Adjutant-General came in, and with great solemnity, pronounced, "That he was doomed to die, by to-morrow at ten o'clock, and might prepare accordingly."

In all my former vicissitudes of life, I never had beheld a more affecting or pitiable object.—The sentence had pierced his heart as an envenomed arrow, and threw him into the severest internal agony. Neither could I help trembling through my whole frame, when I observed the trifling estimation of life, by those inured to bloodshed and slaughter.

After some little time, he relapsed into a flood of tears, and exclaimed, "that he had been in most of the principal engagements since the commencement of the war; and cursed the bullets of the enemy that had not found their way to his heart, and prevented him from falling an inconsiderate prey to the general decision of arbitrary mandates; while he fervently prayed, that he had been executed in consequence of his first sentence, as he had carelessly mispent the precious prolongation of his life, in full confidence that he was thoroughly forgiven."

At last, as a person sinking in a stream, grasps

at even the shadow of relief, he fixed his eyes upon me, in a manner not to be expressed; and earnestly begged that I would write a few lines in his behalf, to one of the aid-de-camps, attending the commander in chief.

I told him, that if he intended to supplicate at all, it would be by far the most eligible method to begin at the fountain head; as these subordinate officers always set a higher value upon their trouble of intercession, than the commander in chief would upon the act of indemnity itself.

He concurred with me in opinion. Upon which I procured paper, pen, and ink, and petitioned his Excellency, in the name of this unhappy criminal. —After which I endeavoured to reconcile him to the severity of his fate, by various observations; at the same time imagining that a few days would put me in the very same situation.

Next morning, however, to his inexpressible joy, instead of being executed, he was reprimed, and remanded to his duty: but by what happy means I never yet could learn, although I imagined it to have been effectuated by the importunity of the tender-hearted Colonel Maitland.

Since my incarceration, I had severally applied for the benefit of a trial; and at last, after waiting two long weeks, to me the great and important day arrived, pregnant with my happy release or final dissolution: on which I was carried under a proper guard, before the august tribunal of a general court-martial, composed of fourteen apparently formidable heroes, who, on my approach, seemed as if they would frown me into annihilation.

The judge-advocate, having read my indictment, put to me the ordinary question; to which, with propriety, I pled, *Not guilty*.

General P—ne being then sworn, gave in my prosecution by a speech, composed of the essence of falsehood, malice, and revenge; in which he began to deviate from the subject in hand, and expatiate upon his great merit in preventing moroding, as he had frequently intercepted people, belonging to the artillery, catching of sheep and hogs.

This obliged the judge-advocate, who was an officer in that tremendous department, to set him to rights, by telling him, that he was to accuse none besides the prisoner before them.

His loquacity being now confined to me alone, he hesitated at nothing, that his malignant imagination could invent; and gave in such an accusation as, in all human probability, must have put a period to my life.

I being now called, opened my defence by a candid and ingenuous detail of the matter, as it had happened; and, when I came to the tragic part of the recital, I observed, the aspect of the president, and some more, my venerable judges, relent into pity, while their eyes flashed indignation and contempt, at my already self-convicted accuser.

Animated by these favourable prospects, I continued my exculpation for about a quarter of an hour; and concluded with resigning myself over to their candid consideration and mercy, in the most pathetic and expressive terms my imagination could invent.—And was again remanded to the place from whence I came, where I spent the night

in a situation easier to be conceived than described; waiting with impatience and suspense till the morning, for the promulgation of my sentence.

At last, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, I was given out, in general orders, as honourably acquitted, and to return to my office. — But being now heartily sick of this barbarous and tyrannical life, I went and demanded my pay, which was accordingly granted; and I returned to Philadelphia, where I found the inhabitants and army, almost in a state of starvation; the fleet, with the provisions, being as yet detained below, by the ineffectual operations of the British army.

The reduction of the forts upon the Delaware, with the removing of the cheaux-de-frizes, seemed to be a task, for some time, more than adequate to the united exertions of both land and naval forces.

Captain Hammond, of the Roebuck, had found means, sometime before, to cut a passage through the lower row of cheaux-de-frizes, whose defensive batteries were not compleated; by which, vessels had come up near the second, which extended between Fort-Mifflin and Red-bank.

Batteries were therefore erected upon the Pennsylvania side of the Continent, in order to play upon Fort-Mifflin behind, while it was to be powerfully attacked by the fleet in front. — At the same time, Colonel Dunop was sent across the river, with a large detachment of Hessians, to storm the fort at Red-bank, which was also to be attacked by the fleet.

Every necessary preparation being made, on the 22d of October, this great and general attack commenced, and formed a most dreadful cannonade, which shook the city of Philadelphia from its lowest basis, for great part of the day.

A number of war-ships, mounting 42 pounders, lay in the river, and furiously attacked the forts, which were also canonaded and bombarded by the batteries behind.

Forts Mifflin and Red-bank, both mounting a great many very heavy artillery, with a number of gallies and gandalos, carrying 32 pounders, returned the fire with great intrepidity and success; for, during the action, the Augusta war-ship, and the Merlin sloop of war, had run aground; and the Augusta taking fire, they were both hastily abandoned, in order to evite the effects of the explosion: but, in spite of all expedition, several officers, with a vast number of men, perished.

In the mean time, Colonel Dunop had bravely attacked the fort on Red-bank, and carried an essential out-post, when he was mortally wounded, and his troops repulsed with a very great loss.

This unsuccessful attempt seemed to affect the inhabitants and army, with an uncommon degree of dejection and despair.—Winter was fast approaching, and there was now as little prospect of the fleet getting up as ever; from which it began to be generally apprehended, that the army would be under the fatal necessity of leaving the town, as they could not subsist for the winter, upon a precarious supply of provisions, stole past the walls of Fort-Mifflin, in boats, with muffled oars, in the night.

The reduction of Fort-Mifflin, seemed to be attended with uncommon difficulty, being situated upon an island of mud, and altogether unaffailable by land.

New schemes were, therefore, concerted to be put in execution, with new vigour; in consequence of which, heavy artillery were brought up from the fleet, and strong batteries erected upon Providence-Island, where they had a better command of Fort-Mifflin, than those upon the continent.

The troops having been previously called in from Germane-town, and quartered as conveniently as possible, in and about the town, on the morning of the 15th of November, the Isis and Sommerfet war-ships, with a number of frigates and other vessels, drew up in front of Fort-Mifflin, while it was forcibly attacked by the batteries on land; all which it resisted with great fortitude and spirit, till the Vigilant, a flat bottomed war-ship, carrying 42 pounders, got round by an unsuspected pass, to an unguarded place of the garrison, where she raked their plat-forms across, and dismounting their artillery towards the evening, entirely silenced the Fort, which was set on fire that night, and totally abandoned.

In two days after, Earl Cornwallis, with a detachment, crossed over from Chester to Billings-Port, where he was joined by a party of troops from New-York, who proceeded along with him to Red-Bank, which was also abandoned on their approach, and the works entirely demolished.

The American shipping having now lost all pro-

tection, a number of them took the opportunity of a dark night, and escaped up to Trenton, while the rest were set on fire and burned.

The British forces, having thus far succeeded, all they could do for the season, was to remove the chain and open a narrow passage through the cheaux de frizes, by which the wharfs of Philadelphia, which had lain so long desolate, were on the morning of the 24th of November, crowded with transports and merchant vessels, to the universal joy and relief of the inhabitants and army.

Forage being provided sufficient for the winter, a chain of strong batteries were erected all round the city; while General Washington, being greatly reinforced, had strongly fortified his camp at a place called White-Pine Marsh, within about 14 miles of Philadelphia; which, it appeared, General Howe imagined would be immediately abandoned on the smallest appearance of his presence; and accordingly marched out on the 4th day of December, with a formidable force, to Chestnut-hill, within a little of Washington's works, where he presented himself to their view for some days, in imitation of *Goliath of Gath*, before the camp of the Israelites: but finding their timidity inadequate to his expectations, he returned to Philadelphia; where I shall leave him for some time, spending the winter in licentious amusements, and turn my attention to the brave, but unfortunate Northern Army.

C H A P. IX.

The command of the Northern army given to General Burgoyne.—His speech to the Indians, and manifesto to the inhabitants.—He gets possession of Ticonderoga, and pursues the Americans to Fort-Edward, which is also reduced.—Arnold arrives with a reinforcement, and takes the command.—The cruelty of the Indians.—General Burgoyne transports his provisions and stores with great difficulty.—A detachment of his troops defeated at Binington.—Colonel St. Leger invests Fort-Stanwix, and his troops defeat a party of militia.—He is deserted by the Indians, and obliged to raise the siege.—General Burgoyne crosses the Hudson's-river, and encamps at Saratoga.—A severe engagement between the two armies.—General Burgoyne is promised assistance from New-York.—He abridges the soldiers rations, and attacks the Americans; but is obliged to retreat.—He moves his encampment, and is abandoned by the Canadians.—He is almost surrounded, with only three days provisions.—He calls a council of war, who agree to a Convention with General Gates.—The articles of capitulation.—General Clinton's expedition up the North River.—The Congress suspend the embarkation of the prisoners.—General Burgoyne returns to Britain on parole.

THE command of the Northern expedition had been taken from Sir Guy Carleton, governor of Canada, to whose military genius may be

ascribed the former preservation of that Province, and given to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, whose great abilities and enterprising spirit, as well as thirst for military glory, could not possibly be exceeded.

The ministry seemed to have been so very confident of the effectual operations of this campaign, that they had not only invariably prescribed the general route, but determined every material detachment, which was to be made; and sent over large quantities of arms and accoutrements to equip the great number of loyalists, who were expected to join the royal army on their penetration into the Province.

Although it was said, that Governor Carleton sensibly felt the disappointment, in this new arrangement; yet his magnanimity and ardour for the public welfare, induced him to forgoe every punctilio of private resentment, and to use his utmost exertions and energy, in making every preparation for opening the campaign.

The forces employed in this expedition, consisted of near 4,000 British regular troops, about 3,200 Germans, a fine train of brass artillery, near 2,000 Canadians, including watermen, and other workmen, with about 1,000 Indians.

The principal general officers, under General Burgoyne, were major-general Philips, of the artillery; brigadier-generals Frazer, Powel, and Hamilton, all distinguished officers; besides the Brunswick major-general baron Riedesel, and brigadier-general Spicht.

The army being at length assembled at the river

Bouquet, on the west side of Lake-Champlain, and a little north of Crown-point. General Burgoyne there met the Indians in Congress, on the 21st of June 1777.; and, according to custom, entertained them with a war-feast, and a speech expressed in those powerful strains of elocution, for which that gentleman is most eminently conspicuous; being calculated to excite their ardour in the common cause, and to repress their natural barbarity.

For this purpose, he was at particular pains in explaining the difference between the present war, in which good subjects were mixt with rebels, and that carried on in a country, in which the whole inhabitants were hostile.

Upon this principle he laid down several rules for the regulation of their conduct: particularly, "That they should only kill those who were opposed to them in arms;—that old mén, women, and children, as well as prisoners, should be held sacred from the knife and hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict;—that they should only scalp those whom they had slain in fair opposition;—but that, under no pretence whatever they should scalp the wounded, or even dying.—And they were promised a compensation for prisoners; but informed, that they should be called to an account for scalps."

He soon after dispersed a proclamation, or manifesto, through the country, calculated to intimidate those who were contumacious, with the strongest apprehensions of the number and ferocity of the Indians, as well as their ardency to be let loose upon their prey.

The great force of the powers employed by sea and land, in order to crush the rebellion on all sides, was displayed in the most lofty and expressive strains.—The fomenters of rebellion, and pretended legislators in America, were exhibited in the highest colouring of cruelty, injustice, tyranny, and persecution.—Protection and employment were offered to those who should return to their proper allegiance, and exert their abilities in redeeming their country from slavery and oppression; and all the calamities and horrors of war denounced against those who should persevere in hostility.

The army having staid sometime beside Crown-Point, for the establishment of magazines, hospitals, and other necessaries, proceeded in concert with the naval armament towards the first object of their destination, being the investigation of Ticonderoga, situated only a few miles North of the narrow pass, which joins Lakes Champlain and Saint George, being surrounded on three sides by water, and on the fourth by an almost impassible marsh.—Opposite to Ticonderoga, on the other side of the pass, stands Mount-Independence; which was also strongly defended by a Star-Fort, and several other works.

The Americans, with their usual industry, had joined these two material posts by a bridge across the inlet, supported on 22 funken piers of large timber, placed almost equidistant from one another.—The spaces between these were filled with separate floats, about fifty feet long and twelve broad, each being fastened to the piers, and to one another by strong chains and rivets of iron.—This

ponderous bridge was strongly defended by large booms, and served not only as a communication between the two points of land, but to prevent all naval intercourse between the two Lakes.

Several of these posts were hastily abandoned on the 2d of July, on account of the rapid approach of the British forces, which had by that time invested great part of their works, and were expeditiously erecting a strong battery on the top of Sugar-hill, which entirely commanded Ticonderoga.

General St. Clair, who commanded the American troops in that place, finding all hopes of defending Ticonderoga at an end, called a council of war on the 5th, in which it was unanimously determined to evacuate the place, and was accordingly put in execution that very night, leaving behind them about 128 pieces of ordnance, with some military stores, and a vast quantity of provisions.

Next morning the British army, having cut the bridge of communication, General Burgoyne in person, pursued them by water towards the falls of Skenburgh, while they were eagerly pursued by land by Brigadier-General Frazer, and a large body of troops, upon whose arrival at Skenburgh, the Americans set fire to their stockaded Forts, Milns, and Batteaux, and fled through the woods in the greatest precipitation and disorder.

In the mean time, they continued to be warmly pursued by General Frazer, who, coming up with them on the 7th, a hot engagement commenced,

in which they were routed, with the loss of Colonel Francis, who commanded the rear of their army, and several other officers, with about 200 privates.—General St. Clair, with the van of the army, afraid of being intercepted at Fort-Anne, made the best of his way towards Fort-Edward, whither the rest of his army found means to escape, by the way of Wood-Creek, after being attacked, and roughly handled, by Colonel Hill, with the 9th regiment.

These repeated losses, on the side of the Americans, obliged the Congress, in order to keep up the spirits of the people, to lay the whole blame upon the timidity and ill conduct of General St. Clair, which brought on a long discussion of the matter between them and that General.

The British troops being elated with success to the highest degree, proceeded with the greatest animation and fortitude, in conveying their artillery, waggons, and baggage towards Fort-Edward, through a pathless marshy desert, which the enemy had rendered almost impenetrable, by numberless artificial difficulties, which threw it towards the end of July, before they arrived at Fort-Edward, which General Schuyler abandoned on their approach, and fled with his troops to Saratoga.—And, although the rapid progress of the British Army had greatly dejected the people of the New-England provinces, yet they did not show the least indication of complaisance, or submission to the royal army.

General Washington had dispatched Arnold, with a train of artillery, to take the command of

the Northern Army, who, on his arrival, called them over from Saratoga to Still-water, imagining it to be a more convenient situation for retarding the progress of Colonel St. Leger, who was now advancing along the Hudson's-river.

The Indians, in spite of all the endeavours and regulations of General Burgoyne, had broke out into several barbarities; particularly the murdering of a Miss M'Crea, whose father was said to be deeply interested in the royal cause, and herself to have been married to a British officer, on the same day that she was massacred.

This tragical catastrophe was drawn by the Congress in the most odious colours, while they equally reprobated the cause, and the government, which could call forth such savage auxiliaries into a civil contest.

The cruelties of the Indians, instead of intimidating the inhabitants of New-England, rather inspired them with indignation and revenge, to such a degree, that the militia poured from all quarters of the country, in surprising numbers, in order to repel, or capture their victorious invaders.

In the mean time, General Burgoyne and the army had been constantly employed, since their arrival at the Hudson's-River, in transporting thither from Fort-George, batteaux, ammunition, and provisions, for the establishment of magazines and stores.—And although the distance was only about eighteen miles, yet such was the difficulty of conveyance through bad roads, untractable deserts, by the scarcity of horses and carriages,

and heavy rains, that after labouring with incessant ardour, from the 30th of July, to the 15th of August, they had no more reserved from the current consumpt of the army, than four days provisions in store, and only about ten batteaux in the Hudson's-river.

During these distressing exigencies of the British army, General Burgoyne was informed, that the Americans had deposited a large quantity of provisions, wheel-carriages, and other stores, at a place called Binington, about twenty miles east of the North, or Hudson's-river.

In consequence of which, Lieut. Colonel Beaum, was sent with a party to seize them; but being retarded longer than he expected by the difficulty of the passage, General Stark, who commanded at Binington, had time to be reinforced, with a large body of militia; and sallying out on the 16th of August, attacked colonel Beaum and his detachment in their encampment, within four miles of Binington; who, although greatly inferior in number, bravely resisted a numerous militia, who poured upon them on all sides, till at last, being abandoned by most of his men, except a party of Riedesel's dragoons, with whom he charged the enemy, sword in hand; but being wounded, he was taken prisoner with great part of his surviving troops.

The Americans being elated by this successful enterprize, boldly attacked Colonel Bryman, who had just arrived too late to the assistance of Colonel Beaum; and although his troops were greatly fatigued, yet they bravely repulsed the enemy at

the first onset, and having fired forty rounds, being all their ammunition, they were obliged to retreat in the best manner they could.

The American Northern army, which had been successively unfortunate, since some time before the death of Montgomery, began now to find, That the British and Germans were by no means so invincible as they had imagined; and therefore proceeded, with great alacrity, while General Washington, then apprehensive of the effects of General Howe's daily expected invasion, took the opportunity of magnifying their successes at Binington, as a great victory; and in order to inspirit his troops, caused great rejoicings to be observed in his camp.

During these unfortunate operations, Colonel St. Leger had laid siege to Fort-Stanwix, now named by the Americans Fort-Schuyler; and being informed, that a General Harkimer was coming to the relief of the garrison, with a convoy of provisions, escorted by about 900 militia, he did not think proper to stay till he should be enclosed between two fires; but judiciously detached Sir John Johnstone, with a party of regulars, and all the Indians, then under his command, to ly in ambush, and intercept them as they advanced.

General Harkimer, and his party, proceeding securely along, without either flanking or reconnoitring party, were enclosed in the ambuscade, before they were aware; and, after a severe engagement, in which the Indians did great execution, they were totally routed, and only about one third of their number found means to make their escape.

Immediately after this successful expedition, Colonel St. Leger dispatched a summons to Colonel Gansevoort, who commanded the garrison, greatly magnifying the number of his troops, and assuring them of the most perfect safety from the cruelty of Indians, and humane treatment, in case they surrendered; but, at the same time, threatening them with the utmost barbarity of the savages, if they persisted in obstinacy.

The commander of the garrison returned him for answer, “ That while he was entrusted with the charge of the Fort, by the united States of America, he would defend it to the last extremity; neither would he at all concern himself about any consequences that might attend a proper discharge of his duty.”

The Indians, having had a great many killed and wounded in the engagement with Harkimer, among whom were a number of their principal warriors; and coming short of the plunder they expected, began now to grow sullen and untractable, and give great indications of a resolution they began to entertain, of returning home to their respective places of abode.

Colonel St. Leger, alarmed at these distressing appearances, used every endeavour to reconcile them to the service; and, in order to flatter their vanity, called a council of war, of their chiefs and captains, and pretended to consult them on the plan of his future operations: but, while they were sitting, the main body of the Indians went off, and carried along with them a great deal of the officers baggage.

Some little time, previous to this unfortunate desertion, General Gates had arrived, and taken the command of the American Northern army, and had dispatched Arnold with a large detachment of troops, to the relief of Fort Schuler. — Upon hearing of which, Colonel St. Leger, was under the disagreeable necessity of ordering a retreat; and, on the 22d of August, retired in considerable disorder and precipitation, only two days before the arrival of Arnold.

In the mean time, General Burgoyne had continued his camp on the east shore of the Hudson's-river, nearly opposite to Saratoga, where, by unremitting industry and perseverance, he had brought from Fort-George, about thirty days provisions, and other necessary stores: and, having thrown a bridge of rafts across the river, he conveyed them over to the heights of Saratoga, about the middle of September, where he fixed his camp, while the enemy then lay in the neighbourhood of Still-water, towards whom General Burgoyne marched his whole force, and arrived on the 19th, within a little of the enemy's lines.

The American army, under the command of Gates and Arnold, turned out on their approach, when a severe and well-supported conflict ensued, in which the British acquired great honour, by their inferiority in number; and after an arduous struggle, and hard-fought battle, of about four hours incessant fire, just as the light closed, the Americans retreated, and left their opponents

barely masters of the field, who lay upon their arms all that night, and in the morning strongly fortified their camp, almost within canon-shot of the American lines.

Both armies had lost considerably in this engagement; and although the British had acquired great honour, yet they had now grappled with such an enemy, as they had scarcely expected to have found in America.—And the Indians, who as yet adhered to their leader, being disappointed in the acquisition of the plunder they expected, perfidiously deserted their undaunted commander, at the critical period on which their service was most essentially necessary; while great numbers of the Canadians, and British Provincials, followed their example.

In this distressing situation, General Burgoyne, who had crossed the Hudson's-river, in complaisance with his orders, which, he says, were to proceed to Albany *at all hazard*; and had all along been fully confident of succour from New-York, received, with great difficulty, a letter in cypher from Sir Henry Clinton, advising him of an intention to make a diversion up the North-river in his favour, by attacking Fort-Montgomery, and some other works, which the Americans had erected on the river, in order to cut off the communication between Albany and New-York.

General Burgoyne immediately returned the messenger; and dispatched two officers in disguise, by different routes, to inform General Clinton of his having only provisions for the army till the

12th of next month; and of his fixed determination to hold out till that time.

General Lincoln, having collected a large body of New-England militia, had made an attack upon the Forts of Ticonderoga and Mount-Independence, intending to cut off all communication between Canada and the British Army:—but after several bold and desperate attempts, he was repulsed by the bravery of Brigadier-General Powel, who then commanded in Ticonderoga.

General Burgoyne, about the beginning of October, was under the disagreeable necessity of abridging the soldiers rations; which, however discouraging to an army, was now submitted to with great resignation and fortitude, and reflects the highest honour and merit upon that distressed, but persevering army.

Matters continued in this forlorn state, till the 7th of October, when there being no intelligence, or appearance of the intended co-operation, and the limited time of the army's remaining in that situation, within a few days of being expired.—It was thought adviseable to make a movement to the enemy's left, not only to discover whether there was any possibility of forcing a passage, should it be requisite to advance, or practicable to dislodge them for the convenience of retreat.

The detachment allotted for this purpose, consisted of 1500 of the flower of the army, with several pieces of artillery, and commanded by the General in person, seconded by his best and most experienced officers.

The troops having arrived at the enemy's left,

they were boldly attacked, on the left wing, by a great superiority of force, which they resisted with great intrepidity, till they observed that the enemy were marching a strong detachment round their flank, in order to cut off their retreat.

This obliged the light infantry, and some more of the troops to form into a second line, in order to prevent them from being cut off from their camp.—But while this motion was in agitation, the enemy pushed on a strong reinforcement, to decide the action on the left, which being at last overpowered, by a great superiority of force, was obliged to give way; upon which the light infantry, and 24th regiment, by a happy movement, preserved that wing from immediate ruin.

In this critical situation, the troops were obliged, by every exertion, to endeavour to effectuate a regular retreat; and, although very hard pressed, returned in tolerable good order to their camp, leaving behind them, six pieces of canon, great part of the artillery-men and horses being killed in the action.

The enemy now pushed on their success with great ardour and impetuosity, storming the lines with uncommon fierceness, exposed to a well-supported fire of grape-shot and small arms, which did great execution.—The entrenchments, defended by Lord Balcarras, with the light infantry, were boldly attacked by Arnold, who being at last grievously wounded, his troops were repulsed with great difficulty and considerable loss.

But during this general and obstinate contest, colonel Bryman, who commanded the Germans,

being killed; the entrenchment defended by that corps was carried by storm, with the loss of their baggage, tents, and artillery. — The night at last put an end to the conflict, while nothing could exceed the distressed and calamitous state of the British army, which they nevertheless bore with a degree of fortitude and unconquerable firmness, peculiar alone to British veteran troops.

Nothing could now prevent them from inevitable destruction, on the ensuing day, but a total change of position in the night, which was planned with such judgment, and carried into execution with such silence and order, that the whole British army decamped from their ground in the dead of the night, and took an entire new position, without being observed.

Both armies had suffered severely on this fatal and unfortunate day; for, besides General Frazer and Colonel Bryman, the British had lost Major Williams of the artillery, Major Ackland of the granadiers, who were taken, and Sir James Clark, aid-de-camp to General Burgoyne.

The British army, being now convinced, that nothing less than a general and decisive action could extricate them from their present calamities, continued, without effect, in their new position, to offer battle to the enemy on the ensuing day.—But this they as carefully avoided, except some skirmishes, while they were endeavouring to enclose the right of the British encampment, by which they would have had them entirely surrounded.

Nothing now remained, but for the British army to effectuate a retreat to Saratoga; and according-

ly they began to move about nine o'clock at night, carrying off their whole baggage and artillery, although they were obliged to leave the sick and wounded in the hospitals, which of course fell into the hands of General Gates, who used them with great humanity and attention.

From the various obstructions of the march, the army did not pass the fords of Fish-kill Creek, which lies a little to the north of Saratoga, until the third day on the morning, when they found part of the enemy already arrived, and throwing up works on the heights before them, which however were abandoned on their approach; and the parties retired over a ford of the Hudson's-river, and there joined a greater force, stationed to prevent the passing of the British army.

No hope was now left, but that of effectuating a retreat, at least, as far as Fort-George; and, for that purpose, a detachment of artificers, with a strong guard, were sent forward to repair the bridges, and open the road to Fort-Edward: but they were scarcely begun to work, when they observed a large body of the enemy marching towards them; upon which their provincial guard made their escape, and left the workmen to shift for themselves, the best way they could, who nevertheless got mostly safe in.

Councils of war were now held, to determine upon what was best to be done, in these distressing and alarming circumstances, and to consider of the practicability of a further retreat: but finding all possibility of repairing the roads at an end, it was resolved, that the army should carry their provisions

on their backs; and, by a night-march, difficult and dangerous as it was, to gain Fort-Edward.

But while preparations were making for carrying this desperate resolve into execution, they were informed, that the enemy had, with great activity and vigilance, cut off every possible means of retreat, by being strongly posted at the fords, where they were obliged to pass, as well as on the high grounds between Fort-Edward and Fort-George, while their parties every where surrounded, and watched the motions of the army.

Words can by no means express the deplorable and calamitous state to which the British troops were now reduced; being worn out with a long series of hard toil, incessant effort, and stubborn action; abandoned by the Indians, and discouraged by the desertion of the Provincials and Canadians, in their greatest necessity and distress:—reduced by repeated and heavy loss of some of their best officers and soldiers, to the number of only about 3,500 effective fighting men, not quite 2,000 of whom were British: their provisions just exhausted, and excluded from all possibility of retreat, by being invested with an army more than four times their number, who, from a knowledge of their condition, refused to fight them, and who could not possibly be attacked on any part; and obliged to lie constantly on their arms, while a continued shower of rifle and grape-shot pervaded every part of their camp.

But as real magnanimity and courage submits to despair, with great reluctance, the troops bore

all these calamities with unparalleled constancy, temper, and fortitude, still hoping for the promised assistance from New-York; or, at least, of being able to bring the enemy to an engagement, and either extricate themselves with honour, from impending ruin, or gloriously die in the daring attempt.—This, however, could not possibly be effected: for the enemy carefully evited every such opportunity, while their numbers were daily increasing; the militia pouring in from all quarters, eager to partake of the glory, the spoil, or the pleasure of capturing those whom they had formerly viewed with terror and dismay.

Being now reduced to the last extremity, no appearance of relief, and the provisions within three days of being entirely out;—General Burgoyne thought it expedient, in such an important affair, to take the general suffrage of the army; and therefore called a council of war, not only of the general and other field officers, but of the principal captains commanding detachments; in which it was unanimously determined to open a treaty, and enter into a convention with General Gates.

Few scenes can be more affecting, than thus to behold a brave and enterprising General, apparently destitute of those lucrative or mercenary views, that might have induced him to spin out or protract the war, for his own private emolument, but emulous to bring it to a happy termination by a vigorous exertion of the powers committed to his trust;—led on by positive orders, and the delusive hopes of promised assistance, into the interior parts of a wild and barbarous country, and there desert-

ed by perfidious auxiliaries ;—disappointed of relief ;—his brave and persevering army greatly exhausted, with the terrible monster FAMINE, staring them full in the face ;—at last obliged to capitulate with those whom he had formerly held in such contempt and derision.

At length, upon the 17th day of October, after several altercations respecting military honour, the convention was concluded ; and, exclusive of the provision of the army, on its way to, and accommodation at Boston, the principal articles of the treaty were, ‘ That the army should march out of
 ‘ the camp, with all the honours of war, to a fixed
 ‘ place, where they were to deposite their arms ;
 ‘ to be allowed a free embarkation and passage to
 ‘ Europe from Boston, upon condition of their not
 ‘ serving again in America, during the war.—The
 ‘ army not to be separated, particularly the men
 ‘ from the officers ; roll-calling, and other duties of
 ‘ regularity to be admitted : the officers to be al-
 ‘ lowed their parole, and to wear their side-arms :
 ‘ all private property to be sacred ; and the public
 ‘ stores delivered upon honour : no baggage to be
 ‘ searched or molested : all persons of whatever
 ‘ country, appertaining to, or following the camp,
 ‘ to be fully comprehended in the terms of capitulation : and the Canadians to return to their own
 ‘ country, liable to its conditions.’

It is generally allowed, that General Gates fulfilled all these articles with great punctuality and honour, so far as he had it in his power ; and behaved with great moderation and politeness, through the transaction of the whole matter.

During the execution of this humiliating alternative, General Sir Henry Clinton, with about 3000 men, and a proper naval force, commanded by Comodore Hotham, had gone up the North-river, and invested Forts-Montgomery and Clinton, which were both carried by storm, after a furious and conjunct attack of the fleet and army, while another garrison, called Fort-Constitution, and two frigates were set on fire, and precipitately abandoned on the approach of the British forces.

In these garrisons were found about 67 pieces of canon, besides a boom and chain across the river, which was said to have cost about £70,000, in making; and was, upon the whole, an extraordinary proof of American industry.

Animated with these successes, Sir James Wallace, with a squadron of light vessels, and General Vaughan, with a detachment of troops, continued their excursions up the river, for some days, carrying devastation and terror wherever they went, till General Gates was under the necessity of moving towards them, with a much superior force.—Upon which they retired to New-York with the fleet and army.

The troops commanded by General Burgoyne, being now unarmed, in the hands of the Americans, were treated, on their way to Boston, in the most dastardly manner: the Congress alledging, as a pretence for their perfidy, that the exact number of cartridge-boxes had not been delivered up.—But this frivolous pretence, only serves to confirm, that people not really possessed of good principles, will easily metamorphose the most imma-

terial trifles, into essential points, in order to proceed to the most flagrant violation of justice.

This severity of treatment, had drawn from General Burgoyne, a long remonstrating letter to Congress, complaining of their bad quarters, and imploring redress: from which the Congress thought proper to infer, that he intended to break through the articles of convention; and therefore refused to fulfil the terms on their part. This unfair construction, drew from General Burgoyne, a long explanation of his letter; and, in order to convince them of the sincere intentions of his army, the officers signed their paroles, which they had hitherto refused to do on account of their bad usage.

Notwithstanding of these convincing evidences of fidelity and honour, on the part of the British, the Congress were unalterably determined upon the retention of the troops; and, for that purpose, *unanimously resolved*, to suspend the embarkation of General Burgoyne's army, till the convention should be ratified by the Parliament of Britain, imagining that others would soon be sent out in their place, from the garrisons where they would be relieved.

General Burgoyne imagining, that his presence would be necessary in Great-Britain, not only to vindicate his own character, and that of his army; but, if possible, to procure the ratification of the convention of Saratoga,—returned home, on parole, for these purposes. But, on his arrival in Britain, he soon found, that he was no longer a favourite of court, being denied access to his royal

presence, and shown every other mark of displeasure.

Mortified and nettled at this political affront, he endeavoured to justify his conduct in a very elegant speech in the house of Commons; and strongly insisted, that he should undergo a parliamentary enquiry; which, being partly refused, he peremptorily insisted, that he should be tried by a court-martial, which was also declined, on pretence, that he was a prisoner to Congress, and ought to return to his troops. This harsh treatment, however, induced the enemies of ministry to alledge, that they were affraid to bring his instructions to light, in case of something appearing unfavourable to themselves.

But, as every tender heart must feel for heroism in distress,—I shall here leave this much neglected, though able and enterprising General, wrestling with a reverse of fortune, and return to an army, who had hitherto taken it cool and easy; some of whom, being now drowned in dissipation, neither seemed to wish for, nor to be emulous about the termination of the war.



C H A P. X.

Proceedings of the Army in Philadelphia, during the winter.—Colonel Abercromby's expedition up the Delaware.—Various regulations established in Philadelphia.—Reflections on its new inhabitants.—A plot discovered for the destruction of the British officers.—The Meeting-houses converted into hospitals.—Copies of the conciliatory Bill arrive at Philadelphia.—The effects thereof in the army.—Its reception among the Americans.—Mr. Deane arrives at Congress, with copies of the treaty of commerce, and alliance, between France and America.—The articles of the Treaty.—General Clinton arrives at Philadelphia, and takes the command.—A particular description of the Mechenza.—Preparations for evacuating Philadelphia.—The Commissioners arrive from Great-Britain.—Their proposals to the Americans, which are rejected by Congress.

THE British army having reconnoitred the American encampment, at the White-Pine Marsh, as already hinted; and finding it impracticable to dislodge them, they returned to Philadelphia, as if piqued at the inauspiciousness of MARS, and enlisted themselves under the banners of a Goddess, whose service was more properly adapted to the inclemency of the weather, in that cold season of the year.

And as temples for the oblations to their favourite mistress, the play-house, which had lain unoccupied since the first resolves of Congress, was now fitted up at a great expence; and some very elegant houses, which had been abandoned by their owners, were converted into ball-rooms, and other places for nocturnal entertainments, while every other proceeding abundantly proclaimed, that some of the officers were more solicitous about the hacknied smiles of a coquet, or giddy girl, than the general approbation of the people of Great-Britain.

And a number of the fine ladies of Philadelphia, seemed to be of opinion, that the lace and feather, were accomplishments of a very superior nature; and that the affected rhapsodies, extracted from comedy, were much more agreeable, than the plain and ingenuous complaints of their American lovers.

The general festivity being thus accelerated, by every concurring circumstance, one small difficulty seemed at first to arise, from the want of male comedians, real actresses having come over along with the army.—But this deficiency was soon supplied, by a set of officers, who were tolerably versant in the re-public of plays; and appeared to be much more in their real element, when shining upon the stage, than when acting upon the terrifying plains of MARS.

Notwithstanding of this general suspension of hostilities, there were still in the army numbers of officers, whose military genius and insatiable thirst

for honour and glory, induced them to perform some very dangerous, but successful enterprizes; particularly Colonel Abercromby, who went up the Delaware, with a chosen detachment of troops, and did great execution on both sides of the river, especially in the Jerseys, from whence he brought in a number of prisoners.

General Howe, on his arrival at Philadelphia, was under the necessity of borrowing a large sum of the old paper currency, from the opulent inhabitants, in order to pay the troops, as the ships with the money could not be got up; and had issued a proclamation, in order to enforce its circulation; which, however, was attended with considerable difficulty.

A civil police was also established; and Joseph Galloway, Esq; who had been formerly a member of Congress, but had fled to New-York, on the declaration of Independence, was appointed superintendent-general of the city; and all the inhabitants were required to come and take an oath of allegiance to Great-Britain.

In the mean time, General Washington had moved his camp from the White-Pine Marsh, to the Valley-Forge, where, being cantoned in the open fields, and his army exceedingly ill provided with cloathing, and other necessaries, all his influence was necessary, in order to keep them together: and, for that purpose, he encouraged them with the hopes, that the next would be the last campaign; while he circulated a long and submissive letter, to the people of the several colonies,

desiring them to provide cattle for the army; and advising the young gentlemen to raise a corps of volunteer light cavalry, to serve in the army of the United States.

PHILADELPHIA, by its great fame, as a fine city, had drawn thither, after the British Army, a vast number of adventurers of various nations, who formed a numerous and mixed multitude, and exhibited a variegated scene for speculation, in order to ascertain the various ways and means, by which different descriptions of persons, according to their natural capacities, and ordinary strain of thinking, were severally grasping at those great, but little understood objects, *happiness* and *respect*.

A great majority, in a decisive and confident manner, seemed to lay claim to respect, from their situation in life, or the appellation of their employment in the world, without ever once considering, whether they were entitled to it by their internal real worth, good principles, or ordinary demeanour:—and appeared to have placed their principal happiness in projects adapted to the accumulation of wealth, and the further advancement of their worldly grandeur.—While others, of more consistency of thought, were altogether indifferent, by what honest and lawful method they procured for themselves and dependents, the necessary and agreeable comforts of life. And considering themselves only as members of the great community at large, differing from others in nothing, but in the quantity, and employment of the talents committed to their trust, were charitably disposed towards society in general, rejoicing in the hope of

the virtuous, and wishing to reclaim the abandonedly wicked.

But as a glaring contrast to these, another description of persons seemed to call loudly for public attention, and may be shortly summed up in the three almost synonymous terms, the *coxcomb*, the *fop*, and the *beaux*.

Their principal happiness consisting in the figure and decoration of their persons, they appeared to be fully confident of *respect*, from the tremendous singularity of their dress, the haughty elevation of their eyes, and distortion of their whole features, with their capering gesticulation of walk; which proclaimed a vacuity of good sense within, generally supplied by vanity and self-conceit, with other turbulent passions, which broke out in private companies, by suffocating petulance; and in the assembly-room, by threatening imprecations, if such a *Toast* should dance with any other than themselves.

But in taverns and top-rooms, they effectually intended to command respect; particularly from the waiters, by noisy clamour, rude ringing of the bell, disliking every thing that came to table, and cursing the bar-keeper if he knew how to wait upon gentlemen.—While even, exclusive of these, it was a very affecting scene to observe, such a number of otherwise valuable young men, carelessly floating down the stream of debauchery, and ruining pleasures.

As I was naturally desirous of being thoroughly acquainted with the dispositions of the people

where I happened to reside, I generally attended the *croud*; where my natural taciturnity served me in great stead, particularly in political disputes, which were sometimes carried on with great warmth.

The play-house, which was duly attended, and always full, was one night, as I happened to be there, within a trifle of being blown up, by a diabolical plot, laid by some unprincipled incendiaries, who had found means to convey a large quantity of gun-powder, into one of the cellars below the theatre; by which they would have had it in their power, to have blown up the commanders in chief, and principal officers of the army and navy.—But happily this infernal design was discovered by the sentinel, who stood over the house, observing an old woman going towards the place, with some materials for the purpose.

Strick enquiry being immediately made, one of the favourite field-officers of the British army, was taken into custody; who, besides having an agreeable woman to his wife, had taken a miss into keeping, who had lately come in from Washington's camp, but had now turned evidence against him,

A general court-martial being held for the purpose, this female evidence deponed, "That by her means, the prisoner before them, had sent out several letters to General Washington, besides being concerned in sending out goods to the American army."—This, however, was not long done, when she reversed her evidence, and counter-swore to all that she had before given in. Upon which, the

court-martial acquitted him for the time, for want of sufficient evidence.

During this great and variegated bustle, a number of the inhabitants, who had hitherto been well-affected to the British government, began now to entertain a very indifferent opinion of the army; as out of contempt of the Presbyterian profession, they had converted all their Meeting-houses into hospitals or barracks, except a small one, formerly occupied by Mr. Telfer, which, with great difficulty was procured from the commander in chief, for the accommodation of a clergyman, who had been one of the professors in Princeton-college, but, like the rest of North-Britons, had taken refuge in the British army; and, during that winter, constituted the only Presbyterian meeting-house within the British lines.

In the mean time, the British ministry understanding that the French were favourably affected to Congress, had drawn up a conciliatory Bill for America; a rough draught of which arrived at Philadelphia, about the middle of April 1778, and was pasted up in the London coffee-house, containing such humiliating concessions from Great-Britain to America, that the very mentioning of its terms, was generally accounted almost equal to high-treason by the majority of the officers, till they had gone and satisfied themselves, by ocular demonstration, in reading its contents.

It is impossible to describe the rage and astonishment which these concessions excited among the British army and its followers.

The refugees, numbers of whom had left large

estates in America, found that they were at all events to fall a sacrifice to the ineffectual operations of Britain; and therefore cursed the pride, stupidity, and pusillanimity of the M——y, in going to war with a people from whom they would hear no petitions, till they were prostrate at their feet in unconditional submission: and to be at last obliged to cringe for a peace, upon much more advantageous terms, than had ever been asked at the commencement of the war. — While a great many of the officers of the army, being fully confident, that the terms would be accepted, did not hesitate among themselves, to curse the timidity of P——t: —alleging, “That they would soon be reduced to the petty subsistence of half pay; and have no opportunity of being advanced in the army.”

Copies of the conciliatory Bill, had, by several methods, been interspersed through the country, for the perusal of the people, which the Congress, out of contempt, published in their Gazette; at the same time, “prohibiting any body of men, belonging to the united States of America, from treating with any Commissioners that might be sent over from Britain, till such time as their fleets and armies were withdrawn, and Independence granted:” — while they recommended to the people of the several States, to have their quotas of troops ready early in the spring, as Britain was endeavouring to lull them into a fatal security.

Governor Tryon, of New-York, had sent several copies of the bill to General Washington, desiring that they might be circulated among the officers and men of his army. In answer to which, Gene-

ral Washington inclosed in his letter, one of their newspapers, containing the bill printed in the Gazette, attended by the resolves of Congress on that account.

And upon a similar application to Governor Turnbull, he returned for answer, "That overtures of peace were generally made from, and to the supreme authorities of the belligerent powers respectively; and that it was altogether new, to make the first application to the people on such an occasion.

"The time has been, continued he, when even this step, from our then acknowledged parent-state, might have been accepted with joy and gratitude; but that day is irrevocably past.—The repeated rejection of our sincere and sufficiently humble petitions, the commencement of hostilities, the inhumanity which has marked the prosecution of the war on your part, in its several stages, the insolence which displays itself, on every petty advantage, are all insuperable bars to the very idea of concluding a piece with Great-Britain, on any other terms, than the most absolute and perfect independence."

At length, about the beginning of May, the resolutions of Congress, and their separation from Great-Britain, seemed to be fatally sealed, by the arrival of Mr. Deane, express from Paris in a royal frigate, with the important intelligence of the king of France, having ratified the treaties of commerce and alliance, eventual and defensive, between them and the thirteen United States of America; copies whereof he had brought over

for the ratification of Congress: the most favourable articles of which were published in the American Gazette, with long encomiums upon the equity, generosity, and honour of the French nation; with the favourable disposition of Europe in general towards America.—This great and long wished-for event, was received in the several provinces with uncommon demonstrations of joy and exultation, while they began to imagine themselves as already independent, when they came to be acquainted with the most essential articles of the treaty of alliance.—An abridgement of which, runs thus:

1. “ That in case of a war between France and Britain, during the contest with America, his Most Christian Majesty, and the United States, should make it a common cause, and assist one another with their councils and forces, according as the exigencies of affairs should require.

2. “ The essential and direct end of the present defensive alliance, is to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, of the said United States, as well in matters of government, as of commerce.

3. “ The two contracting parties, shall each on its part, and in the manner it may judge most proper, make all the effort in its power, against the common enemy, in order to attain the end proposed.

4. “ They mutually agree to aid and assist one another, in any particular enterprize; and the quantity and kind of succour, as well as the com-

penfation thereof, to be fettled by a convention for the purpofe.

5. “ That if the United States fhould think proper, to reduce the Britifh power, remaining in the Northern parts of America, or the iflands of Bermudas, that thofe countries fhould be confederated with, and dependent upon the United States.

6. “ His Moft Chriftian Majefty renounces forever, the poffeffion of the iflands of Bermudas, as well as any part of the Continent of America, which, by former treaties, may have been ceded to Great-Britain.

7. “ That in cafe his Moft Chriftian Majefty, fhould be able to reduce any of the Britifh Iflands, in the gulf of Mexico, that they fhall belong to the crown of France.

8. “ Neither of the two parties fhall conclude, either truce or peace, with Great-Britain without the formal confent of the other, firft obtained.— And they mutually engage not to lay down their arms, until the independence of the United States fhall have been formally, or tacitly affured, by the treaty that fhall terminate the war.

9. “ The contracting parties declare, that as they are both refolved to fulfil the conditions of the treaty, there fhall be no after compenfation on either fide, whatever may be the event of the war.

10. “ The Moft Chriftian King, and the United States, agree, to invite or admit other powers, who may have received injuries from England, to make a common caufe with them; and to accede

to the present alliance, under such conditions, as shall be freely agreed to, and settled between all the parties.

11. "The two parties mutually guarantee to one another for ever.—The United States to his Most Christian Majesty, his present possessions in America, as well as those he may acquire, by the treaty of peace. And his Most Christian Majesty guarantees to the United States, their liberty, sovereignty, and independence; absolute and unlimited, as well in government as in commerce: also whatever possessions they may acquire in America, now in possession of Great-Britain, as it shall be fixed at the end of the war.

12. "The intention of the preceding article, shall commence immediately, on the breaking out of a rupture between France and England: but, if no such rupture takes place, it shall not commence till peace is concluded.

13. "This treaty shall be ratified by both parties; and the ratifications exchanged in the space of six months, if possible. Done at PARIS, Feb. 6th, 1778.; and signed, by *Conrode, Alexander Gerard,—Benjamin Franklin,—Silas Deane,—Arthur Lee.*"

The British Ministry appearing not to be altogether satisfied with the *tarde grade* operations of Sir William Howe, had appointed Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton, to be Commander in Chief in America; who accordingly arrived from New-York at Philadelphia, about the 8th of May, upon which, great lamentations were heard in the camp; as many of the officers now imagined, that

their days of festivity and ease were drawing to an end; and that they would now be obliged to earn their bread with the sweat of their brow.

But they being determined, to have one hearty draught of dissipation, before they should part with their beloved mode of life,—set about making such uncommon preparations for the purpose, as fully convinced us, that we were to see something not only new, but very extraordinary.

Accordingly, the flats of a very large elegant house, a little below Philadelphia, were thrown into one very splendid apartment each;—besides a vast number of artificers being employed, for several weeks, in fabricating a large saloon, or a partment with a ceiled roof, 210 feet long, 40 feet wide, and 22 high; one end of which was joined to, and connected with the house.

These apartments were fitted up at many a thousand pounds expence; and the city of Philadelphia ransacked for looking-glasses, to decorate the whole, as shall afterwards be described; while most of the milliners in town, were constantly employed, for a considerable time, in making curious Asiatic dresses, for the knights and their dulcineas, as well as trimmings for the vast number of looking-glasses, and branched candlesticks, employed in the house, appointed for this very extraordinary entertainment.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of the city seemed greatly at a loss, to account for such remarkable indications of joy; as it then began to be privately whispered, that the British forces

were about to evacuate Philadelphia, a formidable French fleet being soon expected upon the coasts.

At length every thing being in readiness, and the expence of the whole clubed by twenty-two field officers, with four managers appointed to superintend the entertainment, on the day appointed, almost all the officers of the British army, except those upon duty, with a great number of gay ladies, marched to the upper end of the city, where they embarked in fine galleys, by three grand divisions, as follows.

The first galley, in the *Regatta*, had on board several generals, and a number of ladies.—The galley in the centre, being the post of honour, had on board Sir Henry Clinton, Lord and Sir William Howes, with the officers of their suite, and some ladies.—The galley in the rear, had on board General Knyphausen, and the officers of his suite, three British Generals, and a parcel of ladies.—On each quarter of the galleys, and forming their divisions, were five flat-boats, lined with green cloth, and filled with officers and ladies.

In front of the whole, were three flat-boats, with a band of music in each, while six barges rowed about each flank, to keep off the boats in the river.—The three galleys were curiously dressed out with colours and streamers.

All the ships in the harbour had their flags and penants hoisted; and the *Fanny* armed ship, which lay opposite to Market-Street wharf in the middle, was in a manner entirely covered over, with a vast number of different sets of colours, while the *Roe-*

buck lay a little distant with the Admiral's flag hoisted at the fore-top-mast-head.

The Regatta having arrived opposite to Market-street wharf, they there lay upon their oars for some time, and played, *God save the King*; which was answered by three cheers from the people on board the ships.

They then proceeded, and having got below the city, opposite to the house appointed, they landed at the foot of an elegant walk, prepared for the purpose, upon which they were saluted by seventeen guns from the Roebuck, and as many from the Vigilant war ships.

The procession was formed by all the bands of music in the front, the four managers next, and the generals, with the rest of the officers and ladies in proper order.—The sides of the walk being lined with granadiers and light dragoons.

About half way between the river and the house, was a large square, or field, lined with troops; at the head of which were two large pavilions, with rows of benches, rising one above another, where the ladies and gentlemen ranged themselves, while fourteen of the greatest *Belles*, dressed out in Turkish habits, sat by sevens on two particular benches in the front, to be contended for by their respective knights.

They were no sooner set, than the sound of trumpets were heard at a distance; and immediately a company of knights entered the lists, dressed in rich Asiatic habits, of red and white silk, mounted on fine gray horses, richly caparisoned, in trappings of the same colour; and were preceded by four

trumpeters, curiously dressed, with an herald in his robes of ceremony, having on his Tunic the device of two blended roses, and for motto, *We droop when separated.*

The champion of this order of knights, capered along on a fine managed horse; his stirrups being held by two black slaves, having sashes and drawers of blue and white silk, with large silver clasps round their necks and arms, their breasts and shoulders being bare.—Two squires, one on each side, elegantly dressed in the same taste, walked in a stately manner, partly before him; the one bearing his lance, and the other his shield, upon which was the device of Cupid riding upon a lion, with the motto of, *Surmount by love.*

The champion was followed by six other knights, mounted, dressed, and attended in the very same manner, each having his different device and motto, and appearing in honour of his respective fair.—Having rode round the square, they ranged themselves opposite their own ladies, while their herald, with a flourish of trumpets, proclaimed, “That the ladies of the *blended rose* excelled all others of the world, in wit, beauty, and every accomplishment; and if any knights should doubt or deny it, let them enter the lists, and dispute it by force of arms.”

At the third repetition of this challenge, an herald, with four trumpeters, dressed in black and orange silk, galloped within the square, and rode up in front of the pavilion, where, with a flourish of trumpets, he ^{dark} proclaimed, “That the knights of

the *burning mountain*, despise the vain-glorious assertions of the knights of the blended rose; and are willing to prove by deeds of arms, that the ladies of the burning mountain are not exceeded in wit, beauty, and virtue, by any in the world."

Having thus given defiance, the herald returned, and immediately the knights of the burning mountain entered the lists, dressed in black and orange, in the same taste as the others; their champion having for device, a heart with a wreath of flowers, the motto, *Love and glory*.—He was followed by six other knights of the same order, mounted on black horses, and attended in the same manner as the knights of the blended rose.

After riding round the square, they came in front of the white knights, the chief of which threw down his *gauntlet*, and the chief of the black ordered his squire to take it up.

They then fixed on their shields, took their lances; and, taking opposite sides of the square, met with a career, and shivered their spears; which, by the bye, were made of wood and plates of tin.—The second and third courses, they fired pistols; and the fourth, fought with their swords, which were made of the same materials as their spears.

All the knights having, one way or other retired, except the two champions, who still continued in furious combat, till the marshal of the field interposed, and told them, that the ladies were fully satisfied with their proofs of *valour* and *love*; and commanded them, as they prized the future favours of their mistresses, to desist: which summons, being readily obeyed, they altogether, in a very

peaceable manner came forward, and with great grimace and ceremony, saluted the ladies.

It will here be necessary to observe, that on the walk between the square and house, were two elegant triumphal arches, finished in the Tuscan order, and splendidly decorated.—The first arch, in honour of Lord Howe, displayed *Neptune*, with his trident on the top; a sailor, with a drawn cutlass in his hand, on each side; and three plumbs of feathers on the summit of each wing.—The second in honour of Sir William Howe, displayed *Fame* on the top, in figure of a woman, with a trumpet in her hand.—On the right was a boom, and on the left a flaming heart.

The knights having saluted the ladies, as already mentioned, rode through the first arch, preceded by the bands of music and their squires; and forming themselves on each side of the walk, accompanied by a number of stands of colours, they again saluted their Turkish ladies, who came through first, and then lighted down, and joined in the procession.

After passing through the second arch, they came into a fine garden, beside the house; and ascending by steps, went into a fine large hall, elegantly finished, where tea was prepared; and in side apartments were lemonade, and other cooling refreshments, while the knights came in, and, on their knees, received of the ladies the favours of their valour and love.

This great gambole, commonly denominated the *Mechinza*, was performed in presence of near 50,000 spectators, almost every inhabitant of Phi-

Philadelphia, allotting that day to see such a sight as they had never seen before, and to have ocular demonstration for British dissipation, of which they had been frequently informed by their patriots, at the commencement of the war.

As I knew that the wonders of the day would fill up a material paragraph in my observatory journal, I paid particular attention to what came immediately under my eye; and informed myself from the officers, with whom I was acquainted, concerning the particular transactions in the house.

Tea being over, they ascended to a large ball-room, richly finished, and bedded with gold, having eighty-five large mirrors, and thirty-four branches with wax-candles.

The knights and their ladies opened the ball: and the whole company danced till ten o'clock at night, when the windows were thrown open, and a set of fire-works, which had been constructed beside the house, were played off with great dexterity.

The figure of *Flame*, on the top of General Howe's triumphal arch, was now illuminated within, and appeared as a stary woman, blowing from her trumpet, in letters of light, TES LAURIERS SONT IMMORTELS.

Having diverted themselves with the fire-works till twelve o'clock, they went to supper, in the large saloon, already mentioned; which was richly decorated, having fifty-six large pier looking-glasses, curiously trimmed with silk and ribbons; 100 branches, with three lights in each, sprung from the walls; and 18 lustres, with 24 lights

in each, hung from the ceiling: all which were richly ornamented, while 300 wax candles were interspersed upon the table, which was spread with 430 covers, and 1,200 dishes of meat.

On each side of the saloon, were three alcoves, which served for side-boards, &c. while 24 black slaves, in oriental dresses, ranged themselves on each side, and bended to the ground as the Admiral and General entered.

Supper being almost over; an *herald* appeared at the end of the saloon, and, with a flourish of trumpets, proclaimed, "THE KING'S HEALTH; the QUEEN, and ROYAL FAMILY; the ARMY and NAVY; *the Knights, and their Ladies; the Ladies in general;*" while each toast was followed by a flourish of music. After which, they returned to the ball-room and danced till four in the morning, which ended the *Mechinza*.

In a few days after, Sir William Howe took his leave of the army, in order to return home; while the report of the evacuation of Philadelphia, began to be generally believed; and it now appeared, that during the course of the winter, the British Army had found out garrisons of a more attainable nature, and not so strongly barrocaded, as those commanded by General Washington at the White-Pine Marsh, or the Valley-Forge: and, as a compensation of their good winter-quarters, had been raising up a race of brave British heroes, to supply the deficiency of courage, which they had always imagined to have subsisted in that country.

But, as I afterwards understood, this favour

was not so gratefully received, as it might have been, by the American army, on their return to town; for, finding a number of their *toasts* and *belles* pretty far gone with young British bravos, they deemed it as a reproach to their bravery, and accordingly held such patriotic ladies in the greatest detestation and abhorrence.

At last, upon the 26th of May, our apprehensions, concerning the leaving of Philadelphia, were effectually confirmed by an order from the Commander in chief, for all the shipping to fall down the river, on or before the 2d of June following.

This, however, was a most unhappy manœuver, not only for the merchants and followers of the army, but for the inhabitants, who had remained in the city; as they were well assured, that they had now rendered themselves odious in the eyes of their countrymen; which therefore obliged numbers to embark their families and effects, and take chance along with the British.

In the mean time, the merchants, having only a few days warning, were busied in the greatest bustle and confusion, in packing up and embarking their goods; and were so expeditious, that by the time appointed, they had every thing on board, when the fleet fell down to Reedy-Island, to wait for further orders.

During their residence there, the Earl of CARLISLE, Governor JOHNSTONE, and WILLIAM EDEN, Esq; arrived express from Great-Britain, as Commissioners, for restoring peace in America; and were joined in the Commission by the Commander in Chief, Sir HENRY CLINTON.

A few days after their arrival, they dispatched Dr. Ferguson their secretary, with the two acts of parliament, and their commission, to Congress: but being refused admittance, at the American outposts, he was obliged to return, and send the dispatches by common means.

The Commissioners, in these dispatches, offered such terms, as at a more early period would have been thankfully received, and would have restored peace and felicity to the whole British empire.— They offered “ to consent to an immediate cessation of hostilities, by sea and land: to restore a free intercourse; and to renew the common benefits of naturalization, through the several parts of the empire: to extend every freedom to trade, that the respective interests, on both sides, could require: to agree, that no military force be kept up in the different States of North America, without the consent of the general Congress, or of the particular Assemblies: to concur in measures for discharging the debt of America, and to raise the value and credit of the paper Continental currency: to perpetuate the common union, by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents, from the different States, who should have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great-Britain; or, if sent from Britain, to have a seat and voice in the assemblies of the different States, to which they may be sent respectively: to establish the power of the respective legislators, in each particular state; to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishment, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation, and internal government; so that the British states,

throughout North America, acting with Great-Britain in peace and war, under one common Sovereign, might have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege, that was short of a total separation of interests, or consistent with that union of force, on which the safety of the common religion and liberty depends."

Although it was said, that these favourable propositions produced long debates in Congress, for several days; yet the answer that they returned by Henry Laurens, their president, was, "That the offers now made were founded upon the supposition, that the United States were dependent upon Britain, which was altogether unadmissible: yet they were still inclined to peace, and would willingly enter upon the consideration of a treaty of commerce, (not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting) as soon as Great-Britain should be disposed to acknowledge the Independence of America, or withdraw her fleets and armies."

Thus, by the interposition of those then chimerical phantoms, *sovereignty* and *independence*, ended that conciliatory scheme, so pregnant with the real happiness and welfare of both countries.—As by a junction of their interests, and united forces, upon such a solid basis, they might not only have preserved liberty in its utmost latitude, but have bid defiance to all the world besides.



C H A P. XI.

The British army evacuate Philadelphia.—The fleet goes round to New-York.—The army proceeds through the Jerseys.—The battle of Monmouth.—General Lee suspended for a year.—The army arrive at New-York.—A French fleet comes to Sandy-hook, and blocks up the harbour.—The consternation of the inhabitants on that occasion.—The French fleet goes round to Rhode-Island, and invests the Fort.—The British fleet appear off Rhode-Island.—Both fleets put to sea; and, after various manœuvres, the French fleet retire to Boston.—The American troops retreat from Rhode-Island.—The British fleet return to New-York.—A description of that city, with some accidents which happened there.—The Commissioners Manifesto to the several Colonies.—Some successful expeditions of the British troops, which concludes the campaign.—I embark for Europe; and, in some time after, arrive in Great-Britain.

THE departure of the Israelites from Egypt was little more precipitate, than that of the British army out of Philadelphia: for, Sir Henry Clinton, having made every necessary disposition for the purpose, the troops crossed the Delaware on the 18th of June 1778; and had just got over when the American light cavalry were scampering down the streets.—It was confidently asserted, that several British officers, who had been rather long

in taking leave of their dulcineas, fell into the hands of Washington's light troops.—The Commissioners having previously gone down to the fleet, those who remained to the last, went in boats retained for the purpose; and were fired upon, to no effect, by some of the American scouts, who had run down the Pennsylvania side of the river.

In the mean time, the British army, having got safe across the Delaware, moved on but very slow, on account of their vast number of waggons, which occupied almost twelve miles of a line; while General Washington had dispatched General Maxwell, with a detachment of troops, to assist in retarding their progress, till he could get up with the main army.

But, in spite of all opposition, the British troops forced their way through the strong pass at Mount-Holly; and, with great difficulty, got as far as Allen's-Town, where they understood that Generals Washington and Lee, (the latter having been exchanged some time before) had crossed the Delaware, and were to be joined by General Gates, and the Northern army, in order to oppose their crossing the Rariton-river for Staten-Island.

In this distressing situation, Sir Henry Clinton determined to push on towards Sandy-hook: but on his way to Freehold, he began to understand that the enemy were not far distant, by the number of light troops, who had made their appearance on his rear.—In consequence of which, he put the baggage under the command of General Knyphausen, who moved on, early in the morning of the 28th of June, while he himself, with the main army,

resolved to attack the enemy, who now appeared on both flanks, with an intention to capture the baggage.

But while preparations were making on both sides, the British light cavalry had totally routed the American dragoons, upon which their main army retired to Monmouth court-house, where they were furiously attacked by the British, when a hot engagement ensued, in which the Americans were routed with considerable loss, and retired behind a marsh, where Sir Henry Clinton found that it would be impossible to bring them again to action; and therefore retired to his former position, having already lost a vast number of men, besides the brave Colonel Monkton.

For the Jerseys being naturally a dry sandy country, with little or no water, but what is brought up from dug-wells, which were then stopped by the inhabitants, before they retired, on the approach of the British army; and the weather being at that season of the year, particularly on that day, most intolerably hot, about sixty men had died with the heat, and extreme thirst; as no person can long exist in that country, in the midst of heat and exercise, without having the fluid supplied, which is exhausted by the extraordinary perspiration.

Immediately after this fatal engagement, General Lee was laid under an arrest for *disobedience of orders, and disrespect to the commander in chief*: for, it seems, that he had been detached on the morning of the engagement, with the advanced army, in order to harass the British till the main body

could get up.—But it appeared, that he had retired with little opposition ; and was met by General Washington, who reprimanded him in pretty severe terms, in the face of the army, for being so easily repulsed.—This unprecedented behaviour, extracted from General Lee, two very smart letters to the Commander in Chief, for which he was tried by a general court-martial ; and being found in part guilty, was “ suspended for twelve months, from holding any command in the army of the United States of America.”

The British army having, at last, arrived at Sandy-hook, were taken over to New-York, by the fleet, which had got round only the preceding day ; and had only been a few days gone from the Delaware, when Count De Eftaign arrived with a formidable French fleet, upon the coast of Virginia ; where, having staid some little time, he put round and arrived at Sandy-hook, on the 11th of July, to the great consternation and terror of the inhabitants of New-York, as it was perfectly evident, that there was then no force in the harbour, sufficient to oppose their coming up, and taking possession of the place.

As it was an event altogether unexpected, for the British fleet and army to be thus blocked up by the French, a great many people, as well as myself, had the curiosity to go down to Utrecht and Gravesend, upon Long-Island, where we had a full view of the number and force of the French fleet, which consisted of 12 line of battle ships, of great force, and three large frigates ; all which

were said to have 11,000 men on board, and had then come to anchor, within four miles of the hook, where they captured a great many vessels, which not expecting to find such strangers there, had run in among them before they found out their mistake.

But, while they continued to block up the harbour, and were taking in water, and receiving supplies of fresh provisions, from the inhabitants about Shrewsburgh, the spirit of heroism and defence broke out to such a degree, among the respective crews of the numerous transports, and merchant vessels, which lay at the wharfs of New-York, that, in a few days, better than a thousand volunteers turned out, in order to defend the place, being almost confident, that every following day would bring in Admiral Byron, who had been long expected with a large squadron of ships, by which the French would have been effectually enclosed between two fires, and consequently taken.

Having entertained these delusive hopes for some time, to no purpose, at last, on the morning of the 22d of July, the French fleet began to weigh anchor, when it was expected that they were going to attack: but, to the universal joy of the inhabitants and army, they put to sea; and, in a short time, were out of sight on their way to Rhode-Island, where they arrived and blocked up all the inlets to the harbour, besides running up two ships and some frigates, almost as far as the Fort.

This formidable appearance, immediately obliged General Pigot, who commanded at Rhode-Island,

to blow up the King-Fisher sloop of war, and several other vessels, rather than they should fall into the hands of the enemy, while he secured all the royal frigates, a considerable way above the Fort, and made every other preparation for an obstinate defence.

A few days after the departure of the French fleet from New-York, Admiral Howe was reinforced by the arrival of the *Renown*, a 50 gun ship from the West-Indies; the *Raisable* of 64 guns, and the *Centurion* of 50 from Hallifax; besides the *Cornwall* of 74 guns, being one of Admiral Byron's fleet, which had parted with the rest in a storm.

His whole force now consisting of one 74, seven of 64, and five 50 gun ships; besides a great many frigates, and other armed vessels; being all well manned by volunteers and light infantry, he put to sea, and steered towards Rhode-Island, which, by this time, was invested by the French fleet, and about 10,000 Americans, under the command of General Sullivan, who had crossed over, in order to attack, in concert with the French ships, which had now gone up as far as the Fort.

At this critical period, Admiral Howe happily appeared on the coast, with a pretty numerous fleet, which Count De Eftaign, either mistook for Byron's squadron, or thought that there was more honour to be acquired, by conquering the British fleet, than the reduction of Rhode-Island; and therefore put to sea, in pursuit of them, at the very time that the Fort could have been car-

ried, as almost all the frigates had been previously burned, and the whole force collected within the garrison.

Admiral Howe being sensible of the inferiority of his force to that of the French fleet, which consisted mostly of 80 and 74 gun ships, had gone to sea, where both fleets were scattered and greatly damaged by a most furious gale, which came up and prevented any general engagement from being effected at that time.—The Langueduc, Count De Estaing's own ship of 90 guns, having lost her masts in the squall, was attacked in that shattered condition by the Renown of only 50 guns, who notwithstanding her inferiority of force, after a furious battle, had almost made her a prize, when some more of the French fleet, hove in sight, which obliged the Renown to go off, and abandon the enterprize.

Much about the same time, the Preston of 50 guns, commanded by Commodore Hotham, fell in with the Tennant, a French 80 gun ship; and, in all probability would have taken her, had not the night put an end to the engagement.—During which, the Isis of 50 guns was chased, and overtaken by a French 74 gun flag-ship, supposed to be the Cæsar, when a hot engagement commenced, which lasted, with great fury, on both sides; in which time, the Isis had obtained such a superiority of fire, that the French ship found it necessary to have recourse to her sails, and made off with all expedition; while the Isis, being much disabled in her rigging, was in no condition for pursuing.

The British fleet, having suffered a great deal of damage in the storm, were under the necessity of returning to New-York, in order to refit; while the French, being also considerably damaged, returned to Rhode-Island, where they only ^{staid} a few days, and then set off for Boston, being a place of greater safety for repairing their loss received in the gale, and in the engagement with the before-mentioned ships.

In the mean time, General Sullivan continued to throw up works against the garrison of Rhode-Island, in full expectation, that the French fleet would return in time to effectuate the reduction of that island.

But, Count De Eftaign, notwithstanding the earnest solicitation of General Sullivan, did not think proper to undertake an affair of such apparent difficulty, in his then shattered condition, which, nevertheless gave the Americans, engaged in that expedition, no favourable idea of their new allies, as they had drawn them, by delusive hopes, into a most dangerous enterprize, and there abandoned them, at the very time when success might have been effectually obtained.

During these apprehensions and discontents, General Sullivan was deserted by the New-England and Connecticut volunteers, who composed a considerable part of his army, which obliged him, in that alarming situation, to endeavour the preservation of his army, by the accomplishment of a general retreat.

He accordingly, on the 22d of August, began to send off his heavy artillery and baggage, and

retired from the works in three days after; at which time, he was vigorously pursued, and furiously attacked by the troops from the garrison: notwithstanding of which, he made good his retreat to the North end of the Island, where, being in a place of natural and artificial safety, he passed over his army to the Continent, on the night of the 30th, only a little before Sir Henry Clinton arrived with such a formidable force, as would have effectually fixed the fate of his troops, had they remained till that time upon the Island.

Admiral Howe, having refitted his fleet with all possible expedition, again put to sea in quest of Count de Estaign, who had so effectually secured his fleet in the harbour of Boston, as to render an attack to little or no purpose. Upon which Lord Howe returned to New-York with the fleet; and, in some time after, sailed for England, being recalled from the chief command in the American seas.

While the British and French fleets had been thus employed, at the game of *hide and seek*, the army was encamped upon Long-Island, at King's-bridge, and about the city of New-York, which was, by this time, so over-crammed with additional inhabitants, that a number of families, who had come round from Philadelphia, were obliged to take up their quarters in little temporary huts, without knowing by what means to procure a subsistence for themselves and children; while vast numbers of persons, who had been opulent planters and merchants in Virginia, or some other of the Colonies, were going about in the greatest indi-

gence and dejection, occasioned by the fatal effects of the ill-fated war.

The city of New-York stands upon the very extremity of the Island of that name, having a fine spacious harbour on both sides and one end, formed by the North and East Rivers, which separate it from the Jerseys and Long-Island; and are both navigable for ships of the largest burden.

On the very Point where the two Rivers unite, and form the Bay, stands a formidable battery, which the Americans had strongly fortified before its reduction in the year 1776.

The plan of the city of New-York, which was built by the Dutch, is but very confused and irregular; having been formed according as chance or circumstance produced, like most of the towns in Europe.—The streets are narrow, and generally very dirty, having only one strand which runs along the middle.—The houses being mostly built of wood, with some of bricks, are not very handsome, but tolerably tasty in their form.

The principal public buildings are the Governor's house, and St. Paul's church; the latter of which is exceeded, in elegance and splendor, by few of its kind.

The inhabitants of New-York, owing to their great intercourse with people of all nations, and their natural candour of disposition, are even still more open and hospitable in their manners, than some of the other large towns in America.—It is exceedingly charming and agreeable to observe the generous and contented smile which appears in the ge-

nerality of faces, not only upon the streets, but in all public assemblies, or concourses of people.

This city, which suffered so severely by fire in the year 1776; again, on the 3d of August, during my residence there, had like to have undergone a total devastation, by that very awful and terrifying element: for, about two o'clock in the morning, we were called up by a most confused and hideous noise in the streets, among which we could easily perceive the alarming screams of FIRE; and, upon going out, beheld a most affecting and melancholly scene: The streets were crouded with people bringing up water from the river, and carrying off goods, while women and children were running along, with terror and astonishment in their faces, having narrowly escaped the fury of the flames, which had broke out upon one of the wharfs in the lower part of the city; where the houses, being mostly of wood, and, at that season of the year, almost as dry as tinder, had spread along with uncontrollable progress, and burned down some armed vessels which lay in the wharfs, whose artillery being loaded, roared off with terrifying explosion.

This fire, for a considerable time, seemed to baffle the utmost exertions of the croud, principally owing to the affectation and arrogance of some of the officers of the army, who had taken the fire-engines out of the hands of their proper keepers; and not knowing how to work them themselves, had rendered those very useful machines, in a great measure useless: till at last, by uncommon exertions, and with great difficulty, it was put a stop to,

after it had burned down about 100 houses, including a number of military stores, with cloathing and other accoutrements for the army.

The devastation occasioned by this furious conflagration, was not only affecting, but exceedingly distressing; for numbers of families had now lost their all in the flames, and could scarcely procure the protection of a roof.

However, it never could be properly ascertained, by what means this unhappy accident was occasioned; although it was generally supposed to have been done by some persons, diabolically disposed and disaffected to the British army.

The commander in chief, being informed of the interruption of the extinction of the flames, next day issued a threatening proclamation, prohibiting the officers of the army from meddling with the engines, in case of a future fire.

The thunder-gusts, frequent in that country, particularly in that season of the year, about this time roared with uncommon fury; and, the very day after the fire, struck an ordnance sloop, which lay in the river, with about 250 barrels of gunpowder on board, and blew up on the same instant with the thunder-clap: both explosions forming one of the most tremendous roars that possibly ever was heard, which had such an effect upon the city, that almost all the glass-windows were shattered to pieces; and St. Paul's church, which stands at the upper extremity of the town, was rent from top to bottom.

While the city of New-York, thus seemed as if

devoted to destruction,—the Commissioners finding their proposals to Congress rejected, began to make long and solemn appeals to the people at large; entertaining the same delusive and groundless opinion with the parliament and people of Great-Britain, “ That the bulk of the people of America, were well affected to the British government; and that the rest were held in a state of delusion by Congress.”

These publications were held in the greatest contempt by Congress, and published in their Gazette with long comments and resolves of their own; in which they held forth to the people, “ That they could not consistent with their solemn treaty with France, accept of the terms offered by the Commissioners from Britain; which, at the same time, were not to be trusted, as the parliament was under no obligation to ratify their transactions; and even if they should, for the time, it would only be the calling of a new parliament to undo the whole.”

It appeared that Governor Johnstone, in confidence of his former friendship to America, had wrote a letter to Henry Laurens, president of Congress, soliciting permission to pay them a private visit; and hoping, “ That they would not follow the example of Great-Britain in her hour of insolence, but allow him an opportunity of seeing the many great characters which America had exhibited.”

Henry Laurens returned for answer,—“ That they were greatly indebted to his former friendship; and that nothing would give them greater pleasure,

than the honour of a personal visit, could it be done consistent with public affairs: and although he had but one vote in Congress, yet that should be against it."

The Congress at last, in order effectually to blast the character of the Commissioners with the people, and as a pretence for not entering upon the negotiation of a treaty, thought proper to *resolve*, "That Governor Johnstone had attempted to bribe the virtue of Congress, by soliciting a lady in Philadelphia, to use her influence with one Colonel Ried, a member of that body, to accept of a considerable sum from Great-Britain; and that it was therefore incompatible with the dignity and honour of Congress, to transact any business with a body of men, connected with such an insidious person."

This immediately brought on a literary war between the Governor and Congress; and, in a long and spirited remonstrance, he endeavoured to vindicate himself from such aspersions, by "alleging, that a body of men, who were capable of violating the most solemn convention, upon the frivolous pretence, that a few catridge-boxes were wanting, were also capable of fabricating the grossest falsehoods."—And, in order to remove their pretence, for not entering upon a treaty, he resigned his commission, observing, "That they seemed to have no objections to the Earl of Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and William Eden, Esq."

At last, before the Commissioners should return to England, in order to leave the Americans inexcusable, they drew up a long manifesto to the

people of the several Colonies, again advising them to accept of the terms of peace, and enforcing their arguments, by long details of the former clemency of Great-Britain; and charging them with the desolations intended to be carried through that country, as since they were to become an accession to France, that Great-Britain would render it as useless as possible to her enemies.

They further assured them, that they had no such powers as independence; and that it would be to no purpose to procrastinate their real intentions with any such hopes.—“Also declaring, that any particular province, or provinces, who should accede to the terms of reconciliation, should have a full restoration of their ancient laws and privileges, never to be taxed by Great-Britain: and, at the same time, offering a free and unlimited pardon to every description of persons, who should be disposed to return to their former allegiance.”

Thirteen copies of this manifesto were signed, and sent to the Assemblies of the several colonies, with forty days to consider of its contents; but met with the same reception as the former addresses, while they highly reprobated the inconsistency of granting a pardon to those who were, at the same time, acknowledged to have never offended, by being offered more advantageous terms, than ever had been asked, at the time when they were driven to the horrid resource of going to war.

In the mean time, Lord Cathcart, who, by his great merit in a military capacity, had raised himself to be first Aid-de-camp to the Commander in

Chief, was also appointed to the command of a new raised legion, consisting of some more than 1000 cavalry and foot, with whom he bravely routed a numerous body of Americans, who had assembled near King's-Bridge, with an intention to attack the out-posts of the British encampment.

Much about the same time, General Gray went out to Bedford and Fairhaven, where he destroyed a number of military stores, and about seventy ships and privateers, besides blowing up the battery, where he found about eleven pieces of canon, and brought in a large quantity of arms, and live stock.

About the beginning of October, Sir Henry Clinton crossed over to the Jerseys, with a considerable detachment, and arrived at a place called Egg-harbour, a resort for American privateers, where he destroyed a number of stores and salt-works; and took, and sent round to New-York, a fine large frigate; while about 250 of his men, surprized and totally defeated a party of Americans, under the command of one Count Polaski, a cruel, active, and enterprizing enemy, who, at this time, had ordered his men to give no quarter; but was now paid in his own coin: for great part of his infantry, and some of his principal officers, were put to the bayonet.

Sir Henry Clinton having, in this expedition, destroyed a vast number of vessels and small craft, returned to New-York, and began to provide for the accommodation of the troops during the winter.

Although I had lived exceedingly happy, thro' the course of the summer in New-York, and might have staid there with success and comfort; yet as I now deemed myself tolerably equipped for returning, with propriety to my native country,—I embarked in a transport-fleet for Cork, on board of a large well-manned ship, mounting 26 great guns, besides some swivels;—and, towards the end of the year 1778, with a mixture of joy and regret, bid a long adieu to the once happy Continent of North America.

In about two weeks after we had left New-York, one morning as we were separated a good way from the fleet, we observed, at a great distance, a three-masted ship, with all sail set, bearing down upon us, right before the wind.—Upon which our captain determined to risque an engagement; and immediately the whole crew were in a bustle in preparing for battle.

The passengers were all stationed on the quarter-deck, and accoutred with arms to act as marines; while some, who had before talked very high, began now to look pale and skulk into the hold, but were soon chased up by the mates, who swore that every hand on board should be employed in time of the action.—The strange ship, having rapidly advanced, we soon observed her to be a fine new frigate-built vessel, mounting 22 great guns, besides swivels.—But she no sooner observed our force, than she altered her course, and put away as near to the wind as she could.—We immediately gave chase; and, in a little, got within random shot, when a sort of running engagement com-

menced, without effect on either side, till she at last cut us out of the wind, and got clear off.

Being, by this time, a considerable way from the fleet, we were next night terribly alarmed, by the second mate calling down the hatch, that the ship was on fire; and having gone upon the deck, we understood that it had begun among a parcel of oakum, and was now blazing away in a most triumphant manner: but by the activity of the officers and crew, it was at last extinguished, to the inexpressible joy of all on board.

At length, after a pretty rough passage of near five weeks, we arrived at Cork; from whence, by several stages, I got over to Greenock, and immediately proceeded to the pleasant banks of the river Forth, where I found my friends and relations much in the same situation, and fully as well as I had left them.

Here I shall, in conformity to my plan, conclude this volume; and, with permission, the history of the war.—The subsequent transactions being perfectly recent, while its present situation is so apparently mysterious, as to exclude all conjecture, when, or in what manner, it may draw to an end.

F I N I S.

